

Governing Education Policy in a Globalising World – The Sphere of Authority of the Pakistani State

Sajid Ali

**PhD
The University of Edinburgh
2009**

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Declaration

I, Sajid Ali, do hereby declare:

1. that the thesis has been composed by me, and
2. that the work is my own, and
3. that the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification

Sajid Ali

Abbreviations

AEPAM	Academy of Education Planning and Management
AJK	Azad Jammu Kashmir
AKU-IED	Aga Khan University – Institute for Educational Development
AIOU	Allama Iqbal Open University
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AEDO	Assistant Executive District Officer
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEF	Commonwealth Education Fund
DEG	Donor Education Group
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
EC	European Commission
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EDO	Executive District Officer
EFA	Education for All
EIC	East India Company
ESR	Education Sector Reforms
ESRA	Education Sector Reform Assistance
EU	European Union
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FANA	Federally Administered Northern Areas
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FPCCI	Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry
G8	Group of Eight
GATS	General Agreement on Trade and Services
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HE	Higher Education
HEC	Higher Education Commission
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEA	International Educational Assessment
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGOs	International Non Governmental Organisations
IOs	International Organisations
IPEMC	Inter Provincial Education Ministers’ Committee
ITA	<i>Idara Taleem-o-Agahi</i>
JEA	Joint Education Advisor
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KE	Knowledge Economy
LEAPS	Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MoE	Ministry of Education
MTDF	Medium Term Development Framework
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NAVTEC	National Vocational and Technical Education Commission
NCES	National Centre of Educational Statistics, America
NEC	National Examination Council
NEMIS	National Education Management Information System
NEPR	National Education Policy Review
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
NRB	National Reconstruction Bureau
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PCE	Pakistan Coalition for Education
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Studies
PISA	Programme for International Student Achievement
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SC-UK	Save the Children, UK
SDPI	Sustainable Development and Policy Institute
SoA	Sphere of Authority
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
TIMSS	Trends in Mathematics and Science Study
TRCs	Teaching Resource Centres
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Acknowledgements

All praises to Allah who gave me strength to accomplish this great milestone of my academic journey, I can not thank Him enough.

I would like to acknowledge the excellent support provided by my supervisors throughout the thesis process. Prof Bob Lingard ensured a great start for my doctoral studies with stimulating discussions to narrow down my research focus.

Unfortunately, he had to leave to Australia for family reasons. The transfer to Prof Jenny Ozga was as smooth as one could wish for. She sharpened my focus and helped me improve methodological and theoretical basis of the research. Her critical remarks and continuous feedbacks over multiple drafts of thesis were immensely useful. She really made me work hard to produce nothing less than the best. Dr Gari Donn continued to provide excellent moral support and encouraging feedbacks on thesis drafts throughout my research. Teaching opportunities with her on courses on policy and international education were hugely beneficial for me to develop my teaching skills further.

The colleagues at Simon Laurie House provided regular pleasant breaks from hectic work of PhD. Sharing joys and sorrows of PhD process with Margaret, James, Fiona, Linda, Marian, Erin and many others were a great source of support. Lesley and Emily provided all possible administrative support whenever I needed, thanks to both.

Above all I should thank the respondents of my research, who shared careful insights on the policy review process. Some of them also shared confidential material, which was very helpful for the arguments of this research. My friends Noman and Shahbaz provided great support in connecting with interviewees through their contacts. They also provided critical feedback on my field research work. Other friends in

Edinburgh Dr Shahid, Dr Asif and future doctors Bilal, Hussain and Fakhir, contributed in my work and personal life in many ways.

I am very thankful for the financial and logistical support provided to me by the University of Edinburgh and the Aga Khan University. Without this support I could not have embarked on my studies. Special thanks to Drs Memon, Pardhan and Anjum along with Ms Rana and Mr Babur.

I am also indebted to my examiners Prof Gaby Weiner and Prof Roger Dale for critically examining my thesis and conducting the most challenging but extremely productive viva during my thesis defence. I am honoured to receive their extremely positive views towards my work.

Last, but not the least, my wife Rifat and daughters Saaiha, Huda and Arwa deserve special mention. They put up with me over three years and supported in all possible ways to let me concentrate on my studies. My younger brother Saqib always cherished my work and made me feel special. The inspirational support of my father Shaukat and my late mother Akhtar was always with me; they wanted me to be a successful person and I wish I could fulfil their dreams.

Abstract

This thesis explores the degree of independent action possible by national governments in deciding their education policies – in other words, what may be termed their sphere of authority (SoA) – in the context of globalisation; whereby Pakistan, perhaps more than many nation states, is subject to a variety of geo-political and economic pressures. This issue is explored through a study of the recent education policy review process in Pakistan that resulted in a White Paper: ‘Education in Pakistan’ in 2007. In exploring the SoA of the government of Pakistan in deciding its education policy priorities, key areas of enquiry include the tensions between national and global interests and their attempted discursive management by the government of Pakistan. The research uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main methodological resource and looks at two kinds of textual data: interviews with key policy actors and selected policy texts. The methodology of CDA draws attention to the fact that texts are embedded within linguistic, discursive and structural contexts, and that these contexts provide resources that are mobilized by different actors. The textual data resources were analysed to see how language shapes the construction of the White Paper; what discourses are being drawn upon and contested in the articulation of the White Paper and thus what broad power structures shape the White Paper and illustrate the SoA of the government of Pakistan.

The findings suggest that the policy review process as illustrated by the White Paper reveals various tensions caused by differences between global and national education policy interests. These tensions are visible in the style and genre of policy; the pursuit of global policy prescriptions; trends to privatization of provision; and disputes over the issue of language and about the ideological principles that should inform educational provision. The research suggests that inclusive and ‘soft’ governance discourse along with a process of consultation were used by the government in an attempt to manage these tensions. The expertise with which the government designed the consultation process and deployed discursive resources sought to establish and maintain its SoA.

The thesis contributes to the literature that explores the effects and mechanisms of globalisation on national education policies, especially that strand of research which is attentive to local or vernacular responses to globalising pressures on education. It suggests that globalisation's effects on national policies may, to a great extent, be understood discursively. However, these discursive effects also bring material consequences: for example in the form of granting or withholding international development assistance. In response to the global pressures, nation states also employ discursive resources whose effectiveness remains dependent upon various material resources. The research contributes to the study of governance by focusing on consultation processes as a form of 'soft' governance. While various policy actors are intimately involved in setting policy priorities, the government decides the final outcome, presenting it as based on consultation. The research concludes that through employing soft governance and discursive resources, the nation states strive to expand their sphere of authority and to remain central to national policy making in this globalising world, although within specific material and political constraints.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This research explores the ‘Sphere of Authority’ (SoA) of the state of Pakistan over its education policy production. The concept of the SoA refers to the degree of independence that national governments have in deciding their education policies. Through focusing on the recent education policy review process in Pakistan, the research illustrates the effects of globalisation on national policy making in developing countries.

Rosenau (1999, p. 295) uses the term ‘Sphere of Authority’ to convey his argument that the current world system can no longer be understood in terms of the relationship between geographically bound states. The current world order includes many non-territorial actors, for example the United Nations and the World Bank, who claim authority over many areas that were traditionally the exclusive prerogative of the state. National authority is thus shared among various actors, both national and international. Rosenau (1999, p. 295) thus argues that the state is not the sole authority that determines national policy but suggests that it acts in tandem with other policy actors and organisations at national and global levels.

These arguments suggest that we must be attentive to a shift from policy-making as the exclusive terrain of nation states. ‘Globalisation’ is often suggested as the main factor in this shift in policy making. Globalisation is considered by many to have reduced the authority of the state in its policy making (Mann, 1997). On the global scale we can observe the dominance of certain ideologies, for example neo-liberal principles (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001) and a consequent emerging convergence of policy prescriptions in various fields, extensive borrowing and lending of policies across countries and the involvement of supranational organisations in advising national governments and in their policy making processes (Hartley, 2003; Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). These phenomena indicate a complex world of policy making comprising national as well as global considerations. This complexity leads some to conclude that nation states have lost their relevance because of globalisation (Mann, 1997); however a growing number of scholars believe that instead of experiencing a

simple decline of influence the state has reconfigured its authority by adapting to the new situation and therefore remains significant in national policy making (Dale, 2000; Green, 1997; Lingard, 2000).

In addition to acknowledging the complexity of the effects of globalisation on the authority of the nation state, it is also important to note the continued influence of traditional nation-to-nation bi-lateral relationships (and pressures) and their consequent effect on national policy. In fact the events of 9/11 and the rise of the security agenda shows that national borders are being controlled more strictly (Rizvi, 2004). While we recognise the increased pressures of globalisation for national education systems and policy making processes, traditional nation-to-nation influences cannot be ignored and continue to have effects in parallel with the effects of globalisation. Robertson et al. (2007) point out that post 9/11 the USA has considerable interest in reforming Pakistan's education policy and that these interests are mainly dictated by its geo-political and security concerns (see also Kronstadt, 2006). Thus national policy is affected by both global and bi-lateral pressures in the determination of priorities, and this ultimately determines its SoA over the decisions that it makes in different realms including education policy.

The reconfigured SoA of a state is likely to be dependent on its negotiating capability with many national and global forces. In this thesis, Pakistan is understood as a nation state that faces serious challenges to its authority because of particular global pressures. The major shifts in overall national policy resulting from external influence after 9/11 clearly indicate not only that the Pakistan government is under enormous external pressure to curtail religious and political extremism but also that the capacity of the government to negotiate with external forces is quite weak (see Musharraf, 2006). There have been strong expressions of public and political opinion in Pakistan against following the dictates of the USA led 'war on terror'. Despite such reactions the government (both previous and present) did not change its overall policy course, which raises questions about the capability of the Pakistani state to negotiate with global pressures on its own terms.

The focus of this thesis is mainly on the education policy of Pakistan as a way of examining the SoA of the state, which raises the question of the significance of education as a policy field in understanding the state's sphere of authority. Education has played a historically significant role in building nation states. Nation states – in both the so-called developed and the developing world – have used their educational systems as instruments for creating national identity and solidarity (Green, 1997). The Nation state is an imagined community (Anderson, 1991) and education systems have played a pivotal role particularly in the Western world to create those imaginaries of common national heritage, history, culture and objectives (Green, 1990). The rise of globalisation has considerably reduced states' authority over their economic and cultural domains through the rise of satellite television, communication technologies and free trade agreements. In this global era, some claim that all that has remained rooted within national borders are 'the people who comprise a nation' (Reich, 1993, p. 3). This is not to deny that these developments are not resisted at the national level with varying degrees of success. Just as education has played a significant role in the West's development, it is considered of immense importance in the so-called Third World. In fact, in such societies, it is given a higher status as it is seen 'a route to all things' (Carnoy & Samoff, 1990, p. 7). Following the independence of most colonised countries, education was supposed to create a nation and its history; it was also believed to be the source of future prosperity. Education institutions played a central role in these countries in the struggle for independence (including Pakistan) and remain a central focus for policy, so that it has considerable continuing significance as a policy field that casts light on the SoA of a nation. Because of the central importance attached to the field of education in the national culture and with the growing importance of education within the global knowledge economy, education presents a site where national and global tensions are acutely visible. It is therefore, through the study of education policy that we can better examine the SoA of the nation state. In the particular case of Pakistan, the education field is of unique importance in understanding its SoA. As a Muslim state carved out of British India the immediate task of education was (and remains) to engage in nation building, in which Islamic education takes a central role (F. Rahman, 1953). The policy shifts in the aftermath of 9/11 seek reform in

education and particularly its religious elements (Kronstadt, 2004). This is one example of a tension between national and global objectives for education in Pakistan.

We should also not forget the effects on national SoA of the emergence of education policy prescriptions prevalent at the global scale, referred to by some as a ‘global education policy field’ (Lingard et al., 2005). This global education policy field is characterised by having a globalised policy agenda, processes and technologies (Ozga & Lingard, 2007). This is expressed more concretely in such areas as: an emphasis on the economic virtues of education (economising education); the importance of training and skills for developing human capital; the development of performance targets; the growth of measurement and testing for comparative purposes; the growth of monitoring and evaluation; and the introduction of new forms of educational governance – decentralisation, privatisation and so on. The global education policy field is steered by various actors and agents who promote these ‘reforms’ in national education systems through various mechanisms. These actors include various bilateral organisations: Department of International Development (DFID), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), German Technical Cooperation (GTZ); and multilateral organisations: the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations (UN).

The global actors work differently and with different emphases on various aspects of the globalised policy field. For example the OECD pushes for standardisation across systems through establishing benchmarks with which to measure the progress of various nations. The World Bank, on the other hand, brings in technical assistance attached to its development loans particularly to the developing countries and introduces some of the reforms mentioned above. This may result in homogenising of policy across developing nations (for example there is a recent increase in decentralisation) (McGinn & Welsh, 1999). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) urges for achieving universal access

to education with some concern for quality particularly in developing countries through establishing and monitoring the achievement of Education for All (EFA) targets by 2015. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the UN also require member countries to ensure their achievement and prioritise it in national policies (King & Rose, 2005).

The pressures created by these international organisations (IOs) through their targets, standards and various policy prescriptions impinge on the authority of the nation states in their policy making. National objectives and priorities may differ from global prescriptions and targets. Convergence may also be promoted through the effects of ‘travelling’ policy that national actors may take ‘home’ (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). Despite tensions between ‘travelling’ and ‘embedded’ policy (Jones & Alexiadou, 2001) the developing nations may have to give high importance to the policy priorities of international development agencies because of their heavy dependence on the financial and technical resources of the international agencies. Some earlier commentators considered these International Organisations (IOs) to be replacing the earlier colonial administration and condemned them for retaining their bigoted prescriptions for the development of colonies (Curle, 1966). More recently, these developments are considered as a postcolonial form of imperialism (Hoogvelt, 2001).

Before further highlighting the tensions of the global and the national in Pakistan, some brief background on the context of Pakistan is provided.

Pakistan was carved out of British India on 14th August 1947 as a homeland for the Muslims of India who feared Hindu persecution after the British departure. Islam acted as the common thread to bind the multi-ethnic population of Indian Muslims to struggle for an Independent Pakistan. The founder of the country, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, died just one year after independence (11th September 1948) followed closely by the assassination of his lieutenant and the first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan (16th October 1951). Since that time the country continuously faced serious socio-political and strategic crises that included the secession of East Pakistan in 1971

(present Bangladesh), three military coups and wars with India. More recently in the aftermath of 9/11 the country faces serious threats of terrorism further aggravated by the economic downturn, a judicial crisis and rising food and energy costs. In relation to education, half of the population is illiterate with significant disparities among the rural-urban and male-female population, the curriculum is criticised for its stagnation, teaching is the least demanding profession and universities seriously lack research capacity (SPDC, 2003). Investment in the education sector is also quite bleak, the national budget for education has remained around 2% of GDP, leaving a development gap filled by loans and grants from IOs (R. Malik, 2007). Successive governments proposed various education policies at regular intervals but without any major breakthrough to improve the quantity and quality of provision (Bangali, 1999).

Against this volatile background and the very low levels of provision, the basic priorities set in the first national education conference in 1947 were nation building through developing a sense of Islamic identity and human capital building through improving provision and quality of education for national needs (Pak-Millennium Conference Committee & The Boston Group, 2002). In the post 9/11 world and Pakistan's subsequent involvement in the so called 'war on terror', the role of Islamic education within the formal education system has come under serious scrutiny internationally (Curtis, 2007). This is not to ignore the internal calls from academics pointing at misuse of religious education (A. H. Nayyar & Salim, 2003). However, recent education policy seems particularly vulnerable to international pressure regarding its treatment of religious education. There are calls for reforming the religious education within formal and madrasa education systems. Islamic education considered in earlier policies to create national identity, faces international (also national) challenges. Education policy thus confronts a tension as to whether and how to use Islamic education for building an integrated national identity, while at the same time responding to international pressures of liberalising curriculum. At this point it is worth noting that Pakistan comprises multi ethnic groups whose only common feature is their faith in Islam. Official statistics estimate that 96% of the Pakistani population is Muslim (from Statistics Division of Government of Pakistan at www.statpak.gov.pk).

Another tension in Pakistani education is visible in the attention in education policy to international targets which may not necessarily be priority areas for the government. Pakistan is signatory to EFA and MDG targets and several other international conventions of the United Nations which are given considerable attention in national education policy compared to other national priorities. Many international organisations also push for these international targets within education policy in Pakistan; for example the DFID country plan for Pakistani education 2005-2007 links its funding support to the adherence to MDGs by Pakistan (Department for International Development, 2005). As a result the education policies of Pakistan particularly since the late 1990s give considerable attention to the issues promoted by international organisation like the EFA targets (more recently the MDGs as well), gender sensitive provisions, involvement of non-governmental organisations in education provisions, community participation and privatization (Farah et al., 2006). The targets set out in policy also appear more internationally driven which do not necessarily match with the available national resources to attain them, which in turn triggers international borrowing or aid. Even when the international and national targets match, they may not be desired in the same order of preference. Thus tensions may result from mismatch between global targets and national priorities.

It is important to further explore the tensions caused by the collision of the global education policy field with national education policy in Pakistan in order to determine the SoA that Pakistan holds. In order to explore that, the thesis focuses on the current education policy review process which has resulted in the White Paper in 2007 and subsequently resulted in the final education policy by the Ministry of Education in 2009 (see www.moe.gov.pk).

The Ministry of Education, Pakistan, launched the review of education policy in 2005 in order to bring out a fresh education policy. A team of national consultants was appointed in 2005 to review previous education policy and propose recommendations for the new policy. The team, in association with the Planning wing of the Ministry of Education, conducted a comprehensive review through

multiple policy stages. The stages were diagnostic, prescriptive and policy. Through these stages the Green Papers, White Paper and draft Policy paper were produced and used as consultative documents. The review process stumbled on several obstructions and only in August 2009 was the final education policy approved by the cabinet, which can be downloaded from the Ministry of Education's website.

This review process is of interest because first of all, it provides an empirical site to explore the sphere of authority of the Pakistani government in the education policy field, which is being reconfigured due to the various global and national pressures discussed above. Second, it contributes to understanding of the ways the national governments try to manage policy processes by negotiating with and between various national and international forces; and reveals the tensions it generates and its subsequent effect on national authority. Third, at a more general level, attention to the review illuminates issues of policy formulation and governance in developing countries like Pakistan within the emerging global education policy field given Tikly's (2001) argument that globalisation always works differently within different national spheres.

I will now briefly explain the objectives of this research and the questions that guide this inquiry, before briefly outlining the structure of the thesis.

1 Research objective

The main objective of this thesis is to determine the Sphere of Authority (SoA) of the government of Pakistan in the field of education policy through analysing the recent education policy review process. It is argued that this analysis will contribute to an understanding of national-global tensions and their implications for national education policy.

2 Guiding research questions

2.1 Major

What does the recent review of education policy, contained in the White Paper, tell us about the SoA of Pakistan in making its education policy?

2.2 Subsidiary

1. What evidence is there of tension between national and global interests in this process?
2. By what means does the government of Pakistan attempt to manage such tensions?
3. Which factors support, and which reduce the independent action of the government of Pakistan?

2.3 Thesis structure

Following the introductory chapter the thesis consist of six chapters as follows: context – Pakistan state and education policy; globalisation and national education policy authority; research methodology – understanding policy; linguistic analysis of the policy text; discursive analysis of the White Paper; and national sphere of education policy authority in Pakistan.

In chapter two I set out the context of this research. I describe the main contextual features and challenges that have implications for education policy in Pakistan and which impinge upon its national sphere of authority. I detail the political and ideological context and the context of human and financial resources. Both of these contextual features pose considerable limitations on education policy in Pakistan. National politics and ideological questions pertaining to Islamic values and their contribution to nation building remain essential questions for education policy in

Pakistan. In the same way the constraints posed by the limited availability of competent human resource for educational planning and the dependence on International Organisations for education finances are serious concerns. I also take a brief historical view to argue that education in Pakistan post independence (post 1947) should be seen in the light of the colonial legacy of the years of the British Raj and its institutional culture. In the light of the contextual features and colonial legacy I have then explained the main education policy concerns throughout the history of education in Pakistan and subsequently the challenges for educational planning. This chapter sets out the challenges facing the national sphere of authority of the government of Pakistan. It also helps us understand some of the national features that subsequently relate to global pressures on national policy for example, the significance of Islam for nation building in Pakistan and the post 9/11 global challenges for Islam in Pakistan. The financial constraints on the government and its dependency on international finances are also considered here.

The next chapter develops the theoretical framework with which the empirical investigation is approached. Here I look into the concept of globalisation and its effects on education policy and subsequently on the national sphere of authority in national policy making and educational governance. I explain in detail the phenomenon of globalisation and its various dimensions which include economic, political, cultural and strategic aspects. The relevance of these various dimensions for Pakistan is also discussed to make this material contextually relevant. It has been debated that globalisation creates globally homogenised fields and preferences which pose threats to national diversity and thus limit national authority. Currently this global hegemony is said to be sustained through neo-liberal ideology and practices. I then describe the contours of the global education policy field which includes the themes of the knowledge economy discourse, market driven purposes of education, the growth of lifelong education, the importance of measurement and indicators, the dominance of ICT and English language education, and the spread of devolved and decentralised governance structures and changes in educational financing. These shifts in education policy are noticeable across the globe and we can also observe them in Pakistan. The later part of the chapter takes into account the reconfiguration

of state authority due to globalisation and its implications for education policy and governance. It is recognised that the tension between global and national policy fields may not necessarily produce identical results. The interaction between the global and the national affects all national spheres of authority, however, the resultant SoA of any nation will depend on their relative 'national capital' (negotiation capability with external pressures) (Bourdieu, 2003). The developing countries seem disadvantaged in this case.

In chapter four I develop my methodological resources for engaging in empirical research in the light of my theoretical positioning. I explicate my epistemological and ontological positioning and the theoretical resources that I draw upon. I have aligned this research with the critical theory perspective and within the tradition of policy sociology. The policy sociology tradition as opposed to the policy science tradition utilises socio-political and historical resources and focuses on understanding how a policy problem is defined. Based on this epistemological understanding I utilise the resources of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as developed by Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003). The three dimensional model of CDA proposed by Fairclough suggests that policy texts should be seen in three dimensions: linguistic, discursive and structural. An adapted version of this model is developed.

Chapters five, six and seven present the research findings and are interrelated. Following the three dimensional model of CDA I have conducted linguistic, discursive and structural analysis of the White Paper and the policy review process. These three chapters present the findings of these three levels of analysis in order. In chapter five I present the linguistic analysis of the White Paper texts concerning with the SoA of the Pakistan. In chapter six, I move to the next level of analysis – discursive. Here I look in detail the policy review process; the practices of the policy actors during the review process and the relationship of various policy texts with the White Paper.

Chapter seven pulls together the analysis carried out in chapters five and six to produce an overall account and response to the research questions set at the outset. In

the light of the findings of chapters five and six, and keeping in view the contextual and theoretical accounts developed in chapters two and three, chapter seven explains the major tensions that are present in the Pakistani education policy vis-à-vis global education policy field. I explain the mechanisms and resources that the government of Pakistan utilises to manage these global-national tensions and the factors that determine the sphere of authority of the Pakistani state for making its education policy. I close both the chapter and the thesis by exploring the implications of the challenges posed by globalisation for the SoA of the Pakistani state.

I now move on to the next chapter for an overview of the context in which the state of Pakistan is operating.

Chapter 2: Context – The State of Pakistan and Education Policy

In this chapter the national context of Pakistan – both historical and contemporary, is introduced. The authority to make decisions depends on the capability of the government (Robinson, 2008), which is influenced in turn by the political and ideological contexts as well as the context of resources. Factors that influence the capacity of government to negotiate independently include its political maturity and ideological grounding along with its human and capital resources. The absence of these resources creates challenges for autonomous action.

In this chapter I first describe the two contexts: political and ideological, and then consider financial and human resources. This leads into discussion of education policy and planning in Pakistan. The examination of these contexts is historically embedded as a historical perspective and is necessary to understanding of the current policy context. The creation of Pakistan faced immediate political challenges culminating in the rise of authoritarian regimes and the supremacy of the two structures created under colonial rule i.e. the bureaucracy and the army. The context of resources highlights the immediate challenges that Pakistan encountered just after independence, which include both human as well as financial aspects. The underdevelopment of Muslims during colonial times, the deprivation of the area that became Pakistan and the exodus of the Hindu population of Pakistan created significant gaps in human and financial resources. Education policy was intended to address these deficiencies, and it was also intended to promote ideological unity and develop human resources for economic growth. However the education system also contained elements of a colonial inheritance and was thus required to reorient itself while also responding to the other large tasks placed upon it. Because of its enduring significance the later part of the chapter discusses the colonial education system and post independence education policy and the challenges that it encountered. The concluding part consolidates the overall discussion in the chapter and analyses the impact of these contextual realities for the national SoA of the Pakistani government. The focus here is on historical and national factors that impinge upon authority;

however, many of these challenges are linked to international factors. For example national financial dependency relates to international financial assistance and by implication creates challenges for the national SoA. This chapter discusses the national context: the global context is addressed in the subsequent chapter.

1 The Political and ideological context

The British reached India as traders under the banner of East India Company (EIC) during the eighteenth century. They gradually took political and administrative control of the Indian subcontinent. Through defeating an alliance of Mughals and Nawabs of Bengal and Awadh at Buxar in 1764 and finally beating their most formidable enemy Tipu Sultan at Sirangapatm in 1799, the EIC became the unchallenged ruler of India. Apart from a major uprising against the British in 1857, the British ruled India until 1947. However, in the aftermath of the WWII and strong nationalistic movements in India, the British finally realised that they could not hold on to their Indian colony and decided to leave. The years leading to the independence involved serious negotiations between the British, the Congress and the Muslim League¹ to decide upon the modalities of the independence. While both the British and the Congress wanted India to remain intact following independence, the Muslim League insisted initially for constitutional safeguards for Muslims and later for a separate country for the Muslims of India (Hussain, 1997; Wolpert, 1965). The Muslims feared persecution of the majority Hindu population of India upon the British departure and followed their leader Jinnah for the struggle for independent Pakistan (Ahmed, 1997). Following many political upheavals accompanied by ethnic clashes between Hindu and Muslims in various parts of India the British finally divided it into two independent nations – Pakistan and India. Pakistan was born as an independent nation on the global map on 14th August 1947, in two sections – East and West Pakistan which were located approximately a thousand miles apart with no direct land link. East Pakistan was in the North East and the West Pakistan was in the North West of British India comprising the majority Muslim Population. The

¹ Congress largely represented the Hindu population while the Muslim League represented the Muslim population of India

majority of Muslims lived in areas that remained with India, while many Hindus resided in the parts that fell to Pakistan particularly in the Punjab and Sindh provinces of present Pakistan. A huge cross border migration followed independence, further ignited by mob violence on both sides of the borders (Bajwa, 2002). The areas that formed Pakistan were quite underdeveloped except for the Punjab and coastal Sindh. The settlement of migrants, communal violence, shortage of financial and human resources, weak infrastructure and the lack of administrative machinery were some of the immediate problems for the new country. This was the state of the Pakistan on which the foundations of the new country were laid and those conditions of its birth continue to define its current existence.

It is interesting to consider briefly the nature of the Pakistani state before moving on to look closely at the issue of education. The first decade after independence is particularly important in this regard as it sets the trend on which the later politics of the country develop. The centralisation of power at the federal level, low levels of provincial autonomy and weak institutionalisation marked the beginning of the Pakistani political milieu (Noman, 1988). Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the central and most powerful figure in Pakistan at the time of independence. He was the governor general, the president of the ruling political party – the Pakistan Muslim League – and was regarded by people as the father of the nation – the *Quaid-e-Azam* (the great leader). It can be debated whether this centralisation of authority was a deliberate choice made by Jinnah or an unavoidable necessity of the time (Ahmed, 1997). Irrespective of the motive, the result was the centralisation of power in the office of the governor general and a weaker Prime Minister and Cabinet. Jinnah did not live long enough to see the evolution of the country into a well functioning nation state. He died just after one year of Pakistan's independence on 11th September 1948. After Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan, the first prime minister and Jinnah's lieutenant during the Pakistan movement, became the next powerful political figurehead. The office of the prime minister assumed more power compared to that of the governor general. Unfortunately, Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated in 1951. The departure of the main figureheads within four years of independence, without an equally strong political successor and without the formulation of a constitution for the country, left a

significant leadership vacuum (Ziring, 2003). This was filled first by the civil bureaucracy and later by the Military. Mr Ghulam Muhammad, a bureaucrat, was appointed as the governor general after Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination, while Khwaja Nazimuddin, who was the governor general, became prime minister. Between the periods of 1951-1958, there were six political governments in rapid succession, where different prime ministers were asked to form their cabinets, without a general election². Most of these governments were orchestrated by the civil bureaucracy. The first constitution was ready only in 1956. The political skirmishes of the decade ended with the imposition of Martial Law in 1958 by Ayub Khan, thus marking the entry of military into the politics. Since that time the military has held power longer than any politically elected government, totalling around 31 years (Ayub Khan 1958-1969; Yahya Khan 1969-1971; Ziaul Haq 1979-1987; Pervez Musharraf 1999-2008). Excluding the first decade, the popularly elected governments have held power for around 20 years, completing their full term only once (Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto 1971-1979; Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif having two terms each during 1987-1999; Yousuf Raza Gilani 2008-present)³.

It is important to note that the bureaucracy and the military were the two most established institutions at the creation of Pakistan and that the personnel of both institutions were trained under the colonial traditions of the British Raj. They carried forward the colonial traditions and attitudes of their former masters, among them centralisation of power, distrust of politicians and doubt about public capabilities. Ziring (2003) argues that the inadequate leadership has remained the biggest shortcoming for Pakistani politics.

The political history of Pakistan suggests that policy making was quite centralised at the federal level and was also performed by bureaucrats with little role for parliamentary debates (Noman, 1988). While the central government grew in

² In 1954 provincial elections were held in East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) but no general elections held in rest of the country.

³ Here I do not include the pseudo democratic governments under army chiefs Ayub, Zia (with prime minister Junejo) and Musharraf (with prime ministers Jamali and Shaukat Aziz). Visit www.storyofpakistan.com for a historical timeline of Pakistan.

strength, the provincial governments became weaker. Thus the execution of policy and planning which was often charged to provincial governments remained weak, creating a cleavage between policy and implementation (Jalil, 1998). The lack of popular involvement in the political process and the dominance of the bureaucracy and the military weakened other state institutions and civil society. The distinctions between the legislature, the bureaucracy and the military were blurred and confused in practice. Criticism and dissent by the civil society were considered as anti-government: thus the choices made by government did not always represent public desires. Changing the bureaucracy from within was not easy particularly in the absence of strong popular leadership and free public participation. These sentiments are reflected by the first education minister of Pakistan Fazlur Rahman, when he pointed out to his colleagues in bureaucracy that they were facing a difficult task of changing the system of which they themselves were the product (F. Rahman, 1953).

The ideological context of politics in Pakistan is extremely important. It is necessary to understand that Islam was the main ideological ground over which the independence of Pakistan was fought. Islamic ideology provided the mass mobilisation for independence and also pulled together various interest groups for the duration of the struggle. The main leadership of the Pakistan independence movement represented liberals while some of the religious parties actually opposed the call for an independent Pakistan (Noman, 1988). Although Islamic ideology provided a common platform, it faced serious challenges after independence in formulating a shared national identity that could subsume various differences among Pakistanis. Conflicts about the functional interpretation of Islam arose soon after independence in relation to the meaning of the Islamic state and its legislative and constitutional structures (S. P. Cohen, 2005). The bureaucracy and military had an obvious secular stance, yet they could not dissociate themselves completely from the Islamic orientation of Pakistan. The Islamic ideology appealed to the masses and thus the government retained it with some ambivalence, using it whenever it suited their ambitions (Noman, 1988). While the nation was attempting to consider these fundamental issues it had to endure the loss of its main leadership and the capture of government by the bureaucracy and the military. The question of Islamic ideology

remained and remains central for Pakistani politics in general. Various regimes subsequently used the call of Islam to arouse public support for their governments. Consequently most of the education policies and plans deal with the issue of Islamic ideology in the formal curriculum and overall education system (Lall, 2008). While questions of Islamic ideology remain pertinent, much depends on the available human and financial resources of the country to shape the education policy of the country.

2 The context of human and financial resources

Talha (2000) argues that the economic deprivation of the Muslims in British India was one of the major reasons for the creation of an independent Pakistan. Muslim businessmen, professionals and civil servants saw greater opportunities in a free Muslim state where they would not have to compete against Hindus who outnumbered them in almost all fields. Although the Muslim masses were largely motivated by their religious zeal, they did anticipate a more prosperous future in Pakistan. Thus following independence, there were hopes for economic development. Unfortunately, the area that comprised Pakistan had developed no industrial base during British India and served largely as a source of raw materials. Seventy-five per-cent of Pakistan's population worked on the land. To improve this situation the country needed financial capital to start the process of industrialisation and agricultural development. It further required competently trained human resources that could plan and execute the development process. Mass education was needed to provide skilled labour force for both the industrial and agricultural sectors.

According to the statistics provided in Haq (1963, p. 5), in 1959-60 Pakistan had 94 million people with a per capita income of only \$63 (including East Pakistan). In order to develop a strong economic base, the country had to build its industrial as well as its agricultural sector. A socially acceptable growth rate was dependent on financing which had to be found either from local or international sources. Due to the shortage of domestic financing the industrial growth had to rely on external economic assistance. In 1959-60 the extent of foreign assistance (grants, loans and

investments) was around \$300 million. Out of the gross investment of 10% of GNP the domestic investment provided 6% while 4% was sought through external assistance (Haq, 1963, p. 5). Planners were mindful of the debt trap. In his economic planning model for Pakistan, Haq (1963, pp. 68-69) supports the increased level of external assistance for the initial period to support growth to reach its peak by 1970, which should then lead to reduction of the debt burden to a negligible level by 1985. This did not happen, instead the debt burden continued to rise. By the 1970s economists were alarmed about the burgeoning debt burden which was predicted to reach over 70% of national income by 1985 (Naqvi, 1971). Noman (1988, pp. 19-20) argues that the military consumed a substantial chunk of government revenue which prevented the reduction of external debt and also left little fiscal space for social sector development.

As indicated above, Pakistan's human resources were very weak at the time of independence. The educational infrastructure of that time offers some insight into this issue. Fazlur Rahman, the first education minister of Pakistan, in his presidential address reported the following educational statistics (including East Pakistan): in 1946 there were '38,675 primary schools with an enrolment of 3,461,870 pupils; 83 Colleges with an enrolment of 41,027 students; 4 Teachers' Training Colleges; 108 Teachers' Training Schools; and 71 Technical, Industrial and Agricultural institutions' (F. Rahman, 1953, p. 72). The employment statistics of pre-independence India can also provide some idea of the relative standing of Muslims compared to other groups and can show us the poor situation of Muslim human resource that was inherited by Pakistan. In 1944-45 there were only 11.7% Muslims employed in the Central Secretariat and Governor-General's Personal Staff as opposed to 44.46% Hindus and 41.11% British; in 1931 there was only 1 Muslim Member of the Board of Trustees at Karachi Port as against 6 Hindus and 12 British; in the same year the Karachi Chamber of Commerce had no Muslim member at all (from various sources quoted in Talha, 2000).

At the time of independence Pakistan had barely sufficient qualified personnel to run the government administration. Only about 100 members of the Indian Civil Service

remained to form the Civil Service of Pakistan, and these were mostly from junior ranks (Waterston, 1963, p. 9). There was extreme dearth of professionals like economists and technicians in different fields, so much so that the highest level planning body of the country found it difficult to get the necessary staff (Waterston, 1963, p.22). Several government initiatives and development projects were delayed due to the shortage of properly trained technical staff and at times maintenance of existing services seemed almost impossible (Pakistan. Ministry of Economic Affairs., 1957; West Pakistan. Village Aid Administration., 1960). After the end of first five year plan in 1960 and even after the end of second plan in 1965 the lack of human resources and dearth of training facilities to train the required number of people were mentioned as one of the main reasons for failure to achieving the desired results from planning (Waterston, 1963, pp. 61, 115, 136).

The country had major ambitions for economic growth and ascendancy in world affairs, which were seriously challenged by the dearth of economic and human resources (Haq, 1963). The choice was made to have external assistance to get financial capital and train technical staff. Thus both were sought from outside. The following table (see Table 1) shows the extent of external economic assistance to Pakistan over the years:

Table 1: Foreign economic assistance to Pakistan (\$ million)

Period	Committed Loans	Disbursed Loans	Committed Grants	Disbursed Grants	Total Commitment	Total Disbursed
	a	b	C	d	a+c	b+d
1951-1960	618	192	794	650	1412	842
1960-1965	1805	1232	1106	1162	2911	2394
1965-1970	2233	2324	704	719	2937	3043
1970-1978	6152	5096	815	634	6967	5730
1978-1983	5667	-	1566	-	7233	-
1983-1988	9130	5158	2777	2025	11907	7183
1988-1993	11736	9540	2177	2541	13913	12081
1993-1997*	9183	9214	928	1008	10111	10222
* Includes provisional data for year 1996-97						
Source: Pakistan. Federal Bureau of Statistics. (1998). 50 years of Pakistan.						

Just as foreign assistance was sought to overcome the shortage of funds, the technical and professional deficiency of the state was remedied through external assistance. The support in the technical field was made in various forms including: provision of foreign experts, short courses for government officials and scholarships for training abroad. Very substantial and long term technical assistance was arranged through the grants provided by the Ford Foundation. Under the funding arrangements the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University (henceforth referred to as the Harvard Group) sent numbers of foreign advisers between the period 1954 – 1965. These advisers were attached to various sections of the Planning Commission of Pakistan (initially called the Planning Board). The Harvard Group contributed significantly to the first and second five year plans of Pakistan. At times the members of the Harvard Group were the authors of certain sections of the plan because of the low capacity of the available local staff (Waterston, 1963). It is safe to assume that the Harvard Group played a significant role during the initial planning phase of Pakistan. An early official document describes that by 1956 the technical assistance allocation from various foreign sources to Pakistan amounted \$51.738 million (Pakistan. Ministry of Economic Affairs., 1957, p. 12). This amount made it possible for the government to avail itself of the services of 882 foreign experts to work in various projects in Pakistan, while 1533 Pakistani nationals were sent abroad for training. It is hard to find the exact amount of external technical assistance that Pakistan receives today, even the official publications do not provide these figures (see Pakistan. Federal Bureau of Statistics., 1998). One of the reasons could possibly be the difficulty in calculating the figures and extent of technical assistance involving various mechanisms and indirect routes. A large proportion of many development projects sponsored by International Organisations, particularly in the field of education, consist of technical assistance.

It is worth noting that the USA has remained the most prominent aid provider to Pakistan (Ahsan, 2005). In the initial phase until September 1956 the USA provided up to 70% of total foreign assistance to Pakistan (including the grant of the Ford Foundation) (calculated from Pakistan. Ministry of Economic Affairs., 1957).

However, the aid provided by the USA has been criticised for its overly political nature, rising when Pakistan becomes important in US foreign policy and dipping at other times (Ahsan, 2005). The increased aid support to Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11 is the latest episode of high US aid flow to Pakistan and with apparent geo-political objectives.

Both the contexts of ideology and politics and human and financial resources directly relate to education policy in Pakistan. As a post colonial state and given the diverse ethnic groups that composed Pakistan, national identity formation was an important objective for education. Likewise the dearth of qualified people and the wish for economic growth required the education system to play an active role in building national human resource. Was the education system that Pakistan inherited capable of this task? For this, we have to go further in the history of education in Colonial India, as it provided the foundation for the post-independence education system of Pakistan. The characteristics of colonial system were carried over and continue to shape education system of Pakistan (Ali & Babur, forthcoming).

3 The Colonial Education System

By the late eighteenth century the East India Company (EIC) was the unchallenged ruler of India. The EIC was a trading company and thus primarily concerned with economic transactions rather than the conditions of its Indian subjects. Hence, despite controlling India's administration it made only meagre investment in education for Indians. The British Crown formally took over direct control of the Indian colony in 1858 following deep unrest of Indians culminating in the war of independence in 1857. Initially as a trading company and later as an Empire, the British established a system of education that was directed towards their colonial objectives. The system was selective, foreign, controlled and unbalanced; however it was also quite sought after because of its material benefits to the Indians (Nurullah & Naik, 1951). In presenting an account of the colonial education system I will focus on its educational aims, administrative structures, and teaching-learning processes.

The British made a reluctant start on education in India and it was not until the Charter Act of 1813 that a sum of £10,000 was allocated for the growth of knowledge in India (Adams & Adams, 1971). The initial efforts towards educational improvement were the result of the sporadic initiatives of individuals and missionaries without any central policy direction. Thus the Calcutta Madrasa was established by Hastings in 1782 and the Banaras Hindu College was established in 1791. By the 1830s a strong debate emerged about official government support for vernacular or English education. The famous minutes of Lord Macaulay, member of the Supreme Council of India, on February 2, 1835 set the direction of Indian education in favour of English education. The indigenous education system comprised Hindu schools – *tols* and *patshalas*, and Muslim schools – *maktabs* and *madrasas*. The adoption of English education through the Minutes of Macaulay destroyed the almost universal system of indigenous education (Mookerjee, 1944). An English system of education on the same scale was not created by the British during their time in India. Hence, although the British favoured the English system they did not make it available for all and this subsequently led to a class based education system that continues to the present day Pakistan (Ali & Farah, 2007).

It appears that the aims of the British education system in India were threefold: preparation of disciplined and civilised colonial subjects, provision of lower administrative staff for the government machinery, and ensuring economic return. The British held the local system of knowledge in contempt and considered the introduction of English education essential for civilising the Indian population (Court of Directors of the East India Company, 1854; The Governor General of India in Council. Curzon, 1904). In the process of acquiring English education this population consciously or unconsciously internalised British moral standards and thus undermined their indigenous culture. Apart from civilising the Indians, another purpose of the English education was to groom locals to fill in the lower positions in the colonial administration (Yechury, 1986). Limited employment opportunities were opened to Indians through the Charter Act of 1833; however English language was required to qualify. Thus English became the language of employability for Indians, a status which was reserved for Persian in Mughal's times (The Governor General of

India in Council. Stanley, 1859). The following vignette by a Hindu in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, circa 1850, conveys the attitude of Indians towards English education:

‘If the knowledge of English does not lead to eternal bliss, it paves the way to wealth. English is to us as a money-making knowledge’ (Adams & Adams, 1971, p. 171 quoted from McCully, 1966, p. 91)

Finally, the dominance of the English language and subsequent shifts in Indians’ tastes promoted markets for English goods. Thus acquiring the English language also promoted British traders and companies, which benefitted from the growth of Indian markets (Mayhew, 1933).

In terms of the administrative structure of British education three features stand out. The structure was: centralised, inspectorial, and resource deficient – both in terms of people and money. Mookerjee (1944) estimates that around the time British took over the education system, India had 700,000 villages and each one of them had some provision for elementary education. Replacing this system would have been an enormous task for the educational administration had they wished to provide education for all. In order to administer education a fully fledged inspectorial system was sketched in the Despatch of 1854. A department of education headed by the director of public instruction and supported by inspectors was developed. The strength of the system lay in its centralisation of educational bureaucracy and decision making. In such a bureaucratic system the decisions were driven from the centre downwards to the school level through an extensive hierarchical structure. This system also privileged inspectors over teachers. Inspectors prescribed texts for schools, communicated central directives, inspected school administration and teachers, and examined students (A. M. Nash, 1893). Although the inspectors were supposed to facilitate teaching and learning in schools and support teachers’ pedagogical capacities, most of them generally failed to do so (The Governor General of India in Council. Curzon, 1904).

Despite the creation of such an enormous educational bureaucracy, the education system continuously suffered from deficiencies both human and financial. The Despatch of 1854 proposed to hire education officers from the Civil Services to maintain the standards of education services on a par with other public services to ensure the development of the education services. However, the government later relaxed this requirement as it could not find enough finances to support such proposals (The Governor General of India in Council. Stanley, 1859). As a result the education department continued to suffer from an inadequate supply of qualified people and their low competence compared with other departments of public services (Nurullah & Naik, 1951). Just as there were deficiencies in people, so were there serious deficiencies of financial support for the education department. The department of education never received financial allocations adequate for the task at hand. In order to encourage private finances for education a grant-in-aid system was adopted by the government, which was not popular particularly in poor communities (The Governor General of India in Council. Stanley, 1859). The half-hearted attempts at education resulted in a class based education system in India – English and Chiefs’ colleges for the upper classes; Anglo-vernacular schools for the middle classes; and vernacular schools for the poor. This does not imply that the education was universally available, as only 1 in 6 primary school-aged children were actually enrolled by the early twentieth century (The Governor General of India in Council. Curzon, 1904).

Embedded within the class based system of education was the issue of language. The upper classes were taught in English, the poor in the vernacular and the middle classes in a mix of both. Command of English was considered an achievement that could ensure better employment prospects for Indians. Thus education not only suffered from the issue of a foreign language but also created a society divided on the basis of language with accompanying benefits for those who accepted the pre-eminence of English (T. Rahman, 2004). The British also laid unequal emphasis on post-secondary and literary education as opposed to primary and scientific and technical education. At the heart of the debate about vernacular versus English language, John Stuart Mill wanted to have both literature and sciences taught to

Indians in English while Macaulay wanted English education limited to literature only. Macaulay won in the end (Kumar, 1988). Although the British wished to spread elementary education they did not make any serious efforts to achieve this. Their expressed intention was to attain elementary education through private means supported by the government. This approach was later changed and the government involved itself in direct provision, but its efforts were too little too late.

These half-hearted initiatives left a legacy of attempting to improve education through bureaucratic means, tighter controls and strict examinations based on centrally allocated textbooks. The system considered teachers to be at the bottom of the educational hierarchy and as deliverers of centrally prescribed texts. It was geared to prepare clerical personnel for colonial administration. This was the foundation on which the new system of education was to be built by the government of Pakistan after independence.

4 Post Independence Education Policy

In 1948-49 there were only 1.75 children enrolled in primary and 1.62 in secondary per thousand population, the country had only two universities for the entire population⁴ (Curle, 1966). The exodus of the Hindu population from Pakistan at the time of independence also deprived the country educationally. Hindus were better educated, they also owned and managed many educational institutions and constituted a significant population of both teachers and students in the areas that became Pakistan. Their departure created a strain on the education system both in terms of finances and human resources particularly at the level of higher education (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1951).

Against this backdrop the country had to embark upon a new beginning. Jinnah, very aware of the importance of education, showed urgency to improve education from

⁴ The figures are of the West Pakistan only, which became present day Pakistan after the secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh in 1971.

the outset despite initial problems. Thus the education minister Mr Fazlur Rahman⁵ called the first education conference in November 1947 after just three months of independence. The conference was addressed by Jinnah and the Education Minister Fazlur Rahman. Both were clear that education had to play a vital role in building a new nation and to achieve this, a break from the past colonial education was essential. In his inaugural speech, the minister Fazlur Rahman said:

‘Our existing education system, as originally conceived by Macaulay⁶, was intended to serve a narrow, utilitarian purpose and its growth has been largely a matter of artificial improvisation. It has been rightly condemned for its lack of realism and its inability to adjust itself to the needs of a rapidly changing society, its over-literary bias and its utterly uninspiring, soulless character The establishment of Pakistan now provides us with the opportunity to plan our education in conformity with our genius and aspirations.’ (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1947, pp. 6-7)

The newly independent country confronted the immediate challenges of maintaining ‘unity’ and ‘development’ – ‘unity’ among the various ethnic groups that comprise Pakistan and ‘development’ to ensure a better future. In fact most post colonial countries had to face this double challenge of ensuring national unity in the absence of foreign aggression, along with meeting the raised expectations of people of post-independence prosperity through economic development (Dakin, 1968). Education was seen as of prime importance as a means to address the twin challenge. In Pakistan, education is considered to have played vital role in both – ‘national identity formation’ and ‘economic development’ (Lall, 2008; SPDC, 2003).

⁵ Mr. Fazlur Rahman had the full portfolio as the Minister for Interior, Information and Broadcasting and Education, Government of Pakistan (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1947, p. 2). Fazlur Rahman held the Education ministry until 1953.

⁶ During 1830s, Lord T. B. Macaulay was a member of the Supreme Council of India. He is famous for his Minutes on Education that he wrote in 1835. His minutes proposed abandoning the local system of education in India and promoting English education, through which they could create a ‘class of persons, Indian in blood and color [sic.], but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect’ Macaulay is considered the architect of British colonial education in India and for this reason criticised in both India and Pakistan.

Pakistan comprised various ethnic groups each having its distinct language and culture. The major provincial languages representing the major ethnic groups were Bangali, Punjabi, Siraiki, Sindhi, Pushto and Baluchi among many others. In addition Urdu emerged as the *lingua franca* and national language, while English remained the elite official language (T. Rahman, 1996). The only common feature that provided unity for the new state was Islam. Following independence, the promotion of Islamic ideology was considered essential for the nation building task. Consequently education policies from the outset considered the promotion of Islamic ideology as their most prominent objective. The first education minister Fazlur Rahman talked about the role of Islamic ideology for education in Pakistan at length at the most important initial education conferences, first in 1947 and then in 1951 (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1947, 1951). The first six-year plan⁷ of education development prepared by the Education Ministry in 1951 also spoke passionately about Islamic ideology being the basis of educational values for the Pakistani education system. All subsequent education policies and the reports of commissions mainly considered Islamic ideology as providing the moral basis for the education system of Pakistan. Where they disagreed was in the elaboration of Islamic ideology and its relationship with the modern world. While the earlier policies seem to have broader and more inclusive view of Islam the later policies particularly from President Zia's time since 1979 look more rigid (Bengali, 1999; A. H. Nayyar & Salim, 2003; T. Rahman, 2004).

Connected to the issue of common national identity is the issue of language. Just as Islam has been considered to provide the common ideological basis of an otherwise diverse multi-ethnic community, the Urdu language was considered to provide linguistic unity for the nation. The first education conference in 1947 recommended that Urdu should be given the status of the national language and be promoted through the education system, though flexibility was shown at primary level for

⁷ This plan was prepared by the Ministry of Education for the period of 1951-57 and adopted during the Education Conference of 1951. Later on the planning task across the sectors were centralized at the National Planning Board (later Planning Commission) which prepared the First Five Year Plan 1955-60, including a section for education.

regional languages of instruction (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1947). According to T. Rahman (2004) the language issue has remained politically charged in the history of Pakistan and not confined to the sphere of education policy. The politics of language were partly responsible for the 1971 secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh. Most policies were concerned about the national language and considered that essential for nation building even at the cost of suppressing regional languages (Kazi, 1994). The first education policy after the secession of East Pakistan declared Urdu as the only language of instruction at schools, abolishing even the elite English (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1972). Although English did not disappear completely because of its elite character, Urdu became an uncontested national language of instruction in public schools. It seems that the issue of the Urdu language is no longer considered as significant as it used to be for nation building in education policy. The 1998 policy allowed English teaching in any school that had the means to do so mainly because of the commercial benefits associated with English language (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1998). It seems that although the issue of language has remained central to education policy in Pakistan, it has been reframed from the 'nation building' discourse to the market economy discourse – from Urdu to English. The language history appears to have completed a full circle: English as a language of commercial benefit has the same status as it did in colonial times. As a result even remote villages in Pakistan attempt to attain English language capacity (Brian Harlech-Jones et al., 2003).

Apart from Islamic ideology and the Urdu language, breaking away from the colonial past appears to be the commonly shared objective across most education policies of Pakistan since independence. In the excerpt shared earlier, the first minister of education in his first speech to the education conference in 1947 vehemently criticised colonial education as being repressive. The Sharif Commission report of 1959 deliberates extensively upon the colonial legacy (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1959). The report argues that the colonial past has created four basic ills in Pakistani society: 'passivity and non-cooperation; indiscipline and non-acceptance of public authority; placing of self before community; and the disruptive forces of regionalism and provincialism' (p. 6) These attitudes and habits of colonialism had

also plagued the education system, the report argued, and thus should be done away with. The subsequent education policies time and again invoke the need to shake of this colonial legacy to create a sense of having common national objectives.

To recapitulate: so far I have considered that education policies in Pakistan have dealt with the issue of 'national identity formation' in three ways: by considering Islamic ideology as the basis of the education system, by building Urdu as the medium of instruction, and by invoking the colonial past as a common problem to be overcome. The remaining important objective of education is its potential for national 'economic development'.

Education was initially considered as a social service by the government towards its people. However since the late 1950s the government of Pakistan recognised the role of education in development of human capital. Thus the role of education in development has been well established: it is not only seen as necessary for economic growth but as equally important for improving the prospects of society at large (SPDC, 2003). The importance of education and particularly the importance of scientific and technical education was recognised in the first and second education conferences in Pakistan in 1947 and 1951. By the time of first five year plan in 1955 and more concretely in subsequent plans, direct connections were made between education and the development of human capital. Adam Curle (1966) who was an international advisor to the education section of the Planning Commission during 1960s in Pakistan attests in his book about planning in Pakistan that about the time of second five year plan 1960-65 there was recognition of the role of education in building human capital. The participants during both the initial conferences on education (1947 and 1951) well recognised the dearth of scientists, technicians and skilled people in the newly independent state. The areas that fell to Pakistan were not very well resourced educationally either; there were only two universities Punjab and Sindh in Western Pakistan and one university in Dacca in Eastern Pakistan. Recognising this dearth, the initial efforts of the government focused more on higher and technical education as they fulfilled the most immediate task at hand i.e. contributing to the economic prosperity of the country. Basic education was of

secondary importance in terms of educational investment during these initial plans. However, the third five year plan of 1965-70 emphasised the importance of improving all spheres of education proportionately including primary education (Curle, 1966; Pakistan. Planning Commission, 1965). The government was continually caught between the issues of quantity and quality of education. The second five year plan tried to focus on quality rather than expansion but failed to achieve any significant results even in qualitative improvement. The third plan tried to match the balance, always difficult, between considerable quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement.

Looking at the more recent past, education policies since the 1990s brought primary education into sharper focus. One of the reasons appears to be a worldwide push for achieving universal educational participation as elaborated through the UNESCO agenda of Education for All (EFA). Despite the constant attempts to achieving both quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement at every level of education through subsequent policies and plans, the education performance of Pakistan remains challenging with half of its population still illiterate. However, it is true that achieving both quantity and quality has remained a cornerstone of every education policy and plan with an ultimate aim of developing the human capital and becoming a knowledge society (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1998).

Thus the major educational objectives pursued through various education policies and plans have remained the formation of ‘national identity’ and the attainment of ‘economic development’. These were complex objectives, in a particularly demanding context and highly dependent on the state of the wider socio political and economic environment of Pakistan (Kazi, 1994; Noman, 1988).

5 Challenges in Planning for Education

Early planning for educational development in Pakistan was hampered by the myriad challenges the country was faced with immediately after independence, including the lack of financial resources and the unavailability of reliable statistics, both of which

were crucially important for future planning (Pakistan. Ministry of the Interior. Education Division, 1951). The resolution of some initial problems, an improved financial situation, the undertaking of a national census and the drawing up of a Six-year Development Programme for Pakistan by the government under the Colombo Plan⁸ provided impetus for detailed educational planning. The first concrete effort was the Six-year National Plan of Educational Development in 1951. The plan was prepared by the Education Division of the Central Government of Pakistan in consultation with the Provincial and State governments. It was approved during the national Education Conference in December 1951. Major emphasis was laid on the ideological side of education which was to be inspired by Islamic values. Thus the plan highlighted the importance of curricula and teacher training to support such an ideal. It dealt with the whole spectrum of education from pre-primary to higher and technical education.

The main development planning arm of the government was initially the Planning Board which was later converted into the Planning Commission with the status of an influential planning body (Waterston, 1963). To date, the Planning Commission is the body which charts longer term development plans across all sectors in consultation with respective ministries. The Planning Commission (Planning Board at that time) developed the first five-year plan in 1955. This plan also included a chapter on a five year educational plan. The Planning Commission has developed eight five year plans up to 1998, when these were replaced with other planning instruments – a Medium Term Development Framework and long term Perspective Plans. The Planning Commission has a section that deals with education planning and is supposed to work in close connection with the Federal Ministry of Education.

In addition various governments from time to time have appointed Commissions for education. The most famous product of these is the Sharif Commission Report,

⁸ A cooperative venture for economic and social development initially conceived by seven commonwealth countries - Australia, Britain, Canada, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India, New Zealand and Pakistan. The plan takes its name from its inception meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka in January 1950. Visit www.colombo-plan.org for further information.

published in 1959 and considered a seminal document regarding education in Pakistan. Since 1970 the government has also been issuing education policies, which are normally prepared by the Federal Ministry of Education in consultation with the provinces. To date there have been five education policies and the sixth one has just been approved by the government in 2009, and constitutes the central focus of this research. The education policies traditionally provide general guidelines on all issues pertaining to education. They also touch upon the financial aspects of education, however, the intention is mainly to provide vision and broader guidelines. The educational plans of the Planning Commission are theoretically supposed to work within guidelines from the education policy of the education ministry.

The planning activity at the Planning Commission is carried out by technical experts and economists who represent the federal planning bureaucracy. Some of the current planning documents that are prepared by the Planning Commission and generally have a bearing on education policy include: Vision 2030; MTRF (Medium Term Development Framework); PRSP (Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper). Despite extensive plans and numerous policies, education policy and planning in Pakistan has continuously faced challenges of absence of technical and financial resource (Waterston, 1963). At various stages these posed different kinds of challenges in terms of education policy. I will elaborate the two a little further below.

The technical deficiency was the single most significant disadvantage for education policy in Pakistan from the outset and remains so currently. As indicated above, at the time of partition there were around 100 civil servants. However, they were mainly generalists and trained in the tradition of Whitehall, with more concerns for maintaining law and order, generating revenues and maintaining checks and balances. They were quite unsuitable to the demands of a free and developing nation (Waterston, 1963). Within the Planning Commission there was acute shortage of competent technical staff for the education section even in 1960s (Curle, 1966). The Sharif Commission also notes the need for adequate personnel and their training needs (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1959). More recently in the 2000s when the

devolved education system was introduced in the country, the reform plans note the deficiencies of the education bureaucracy (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2002a).

The lack of financial resources was acute for Pakistan from the outset and continues, with occasional periods of relative growth. Makeshift arrangements were made during the early days for government offices. The social services received meagre allocation of around 3% shared between education, health, social work etc (Noman, 1988). This was inadequate given the substantial task at hand for education. Various development plans have allocated minimum amount for education in comparison to defence. Ironically what has been allocated was not even fully utilised (Siddiqui, 2007). The Sharif Commission report notes that education was not allocated more than 3% of the development budget for education and proposed an allocation of 7% if change was to be achieved, with an equally important share by the private sector. Despite recurrent calls for increase in the share of the education budget it has not risen above 2% of GDP. The federal budget 2007-2008 allocates Rs 24,247 million for education in comparison to Rs 275,000 million for defence. There seems an obvious mismatch between what is expected of education and what is being allocated for this task. It is unsurprising that education reforms fail to achieve various targets (Ahsan, 2003).

6 Conclusion

Education policy in Pakistan inherited a colonial legacy that has created political, ideological, economic and human complexities and conflicts. The colonial system not only created an unbalanced system of education but also created the context that continues to haunt Pakistan and inhibit any substantial progress. The two major tasks for education policy were the achievement of national harmony through creating a national identity and economic development. However, the political context of the country jeopardised the first task. In the absence of proper representation of the various ethnic groups, class struggles and the denial of public participation meant that education policy represented the wishes of the dominant group in the government (Kazi, 1994; Noman, 1988).

The development of human resources through education policy faced serious challenges because of lack of resources, both financial and human. The solution was to call for external assistance, but education did not get an adequate share of these resources. The priorities in the initial phase of Pakistan's education development were quite unbalanced in an attempt to create what Haq (1963) called an inverted pyramid. It was more focused on developing higher education and did not pay much attention to basic education – a colonial approach indeed.

The involvement of foreign assistance inevitably raises questions about external influence. Ahsan (2005) argues that foreign assistance to Pakistan remains highly politicised. He notes that aid flows tends to rise and fall alongside Pakistan's strategic significance. Education is seen as a means of curtailing extremism in parts of Pakistan (Curtis, 2007). Since 9/11 the USA has resumed its aid to Pakistan and is a major supporter of education sector reforms in Pakistan. Technical assistance and other project support in education from various donor agencies also bring in their preferred priorities. There are quite obvious international trends that are being pursued through education policy in Pakistan (Ali & Ahmad, 2008). The current reforms promote privatisation and decentralisation. There is an emphasis on the achievement of international targets as set by the UNESCO sponsored Education for All (EFA) and UN sponsored Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). There is also an emphasis on ensuring the availability of numbers – through assessment results, an education census for comparative purposes and to ensure accountability. In the light of Carnoy's analysis (2006) these trends indicate the impact of globalisation on the education policy in Pakistan.

The point to be considered is whether these policy changes represent choices made by the government of Pakistan. This chapter has pointed out that the government of Pakistan since its inception was and remains dependant upon external assistance particularly for its social sector development and for human capital development. In the face of persistent dependency on foreign assistance both for financial and technical reasons, the capacity of the government to make independent policy

decisions is seriously called into question. Thus the Sphere of Authority of the government of Pakistan in education policy production seems under pressure from external influences brought in through external assistance.

It is important to note that there are also internal features of the Pakistani state that challenge its authority. There are histories of centralisation that undermine provincial and ethnic diversity. The role of the army and the bureaucracy in government is strong compared to that of the legislature and external policy influences affect national decisions more easily in this context. Thus for example it was easier for the USA to influence the Army governments of Zia in 1980s and Musharraf in 2000s in their favour (Musharraf, 2006; Noman, 1988). However, it could not stop the Nawaz government in 1998 from going ahead with a nuclear explosion. Within the domain of education the educational reforms during Zia's time to Islamise and during the Musharraf regime to liberalise also represent the similar case. Thus in historical terms, and in the contemporary context, the internal and external challenges to the sphere of authority are interconnected and synergetic, with continuing consequences for the capacity of the state of Pakistan to make education policy. In the next chapter I will move beyond state level to explore the challenges that globalisation processes poses for national SoA.

Chapter 3: Globalisation and Authority in National Education Policy

The previous chapter explained the education policy context of Pakistan and concluded that the sphere of authority (SoA) of the Pakistani state over its education policy production appears to be constrained by both internal and external challenges and historical-political developments. More recently, particularly since the 1990s the phenomenon of globalisation is considered a major factor that directly impinges upon the SoA of nation states, and which challenges state sovereignty. This curtailed state authority has serious implications for the education field, which is considered a primary institution responsible for nation building. Thus nations have a serious stake in dealing with education policy (Dale, 1989). Reich (1993, p.3) reminds us that in this era of globalisation the only thing that remains rooted within national borders 'are the people who comprise a nation'.

Nation states may attempt to guard their authority over their education systems after losing absolute control over various economic and political functions. However, globalisation processes have seeped into this domain in various ways. Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005) suggest that globalisation has created a global education policy field, which has a direct bearing on the educational choices that are made in any country. Thus no national education policy can be fully understood without reference to the global education policy field, which is characterised by such policy reforms as decentralisation, deregulation, privatisation, the knowledge economy, lifelong learning, curriculum reform and the prevalence of English and ICT in the curriculum. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is considered a major organisation that has shaped this global education policy field, which in turn has reshaped itself (Henry et al., 2001). The global education policy field has caused significant convergence in education policy in both Europe and East Asia; however national education systems still retain their unique educational features (Green, 1999). Rizvi et al. (2005) looked at the effects of globalisation in the education policy of the Asia Pacific region and conclude that globalisation pressures have been recasting the educational policy terrain leading to tensions between

economic and cultural objectives of education for nation states. Despite growing attention to the effects of globalisation on education policy, very little research is carried out within the context of the developing world, particularly where there is a colonial history (Tikly, 2001). Nevertheless, a recent work by Robertson et al. (2007) does focus on globalisation and development issues for education in the developing world. They suggest that globalisation has changed the conditions for development and education policy can potentially cause both justice and injustice depending on the national contexts that facilitate or restrict access to quality education for all.

In this chapter I draw on the academic literature to discuss the ways globalisation may produce a global education policy field and affect national education policy authority and governance. The chapter first explains approaches to globalisation, which is a complex phenomenon that can be understood in different ways. I look at issues of definition, dimensions of globalisation and its relevance to the situation in Pakistan. The chapter then reviews approaches to the global education policy field and its constitutive elements. It is argued that if such a field is emerging it has restrictive and prescriptive effects on the policy making capacity of the state, but these will need to be considered in the context of conditions in specific national settings. Later sections explore how globalisation has affected the policy making capacity of the state and how education is being governed within this reconfigured SoA and in relation to the global education policy field. The chapter concludes by highlighting that the processes of globalisation do not operate in a standard way everywhere. Their effects depend on the negotiating capability of various nations based on their economic and political power – their ‘national capital’ (Bourdieu, 2003; see also Dale, 1999; Dale & Robertson, 2002).

1 Globalisation

The world has seen enormous changes during last couple of decades since 1970s but more intensely since the 1990s coinciding with the fall of Soviet Union. These changes have been so rapid and complex that there is inevitable controversy about determining their precise causes, processes and effects. The three most commonly

used labels to explain these changes are: postmodernism, post-Fordism and globalisation. Postmodernism stands in contrast to modernity and hails the arrival of more flux and a less deterministic form of social organisation (Harvey, 1989). Post-Fordism seeks to explain the changes in the mode of production and consumption, which has moved from mass industrial production to more flexible forms of production located at distant places (Amin, 1994). Globalisation encompasses both of these conceptions to mark the shift in general organisation of our social, political and economic lives, which is believed to be interconnected and inter dependant on a worldwide scale.

Globalisation generally refers to the growing interconnectedness of various human relations on a planetary scale (Giddens, 1990; Modelski, 2000). Despite an over-usage of the term there is an absence of clear definition, and there is disagreement among scholars about the meaning and very existence of the phenomenon. For some it completely redefines the whole social fabric of our society; for others there is nothing novel in the idea and it represents a historical moment. David Held and colleagues (1999) have categorised these scholars into three categories. The ‘hyperglobalists’ usually take an economic view of the world and point to the immense power of the global financial system and global governance organisations, which make the ‘national’ less and less meaningful. The ‘sceptics’ on the other hand take a historical view to indicate previous forms of global interconnections that makes globalisation just another episode of development and not fundamentally new. Sceptics see the nation as the most fundamental unit of governance which forge regional networks of activities as distinct from global. The ‘transformationalists’ take a balanced view between the two camps. They consider globalisation as a central driving force behind the reshaping of modern societies but at the same time acknowledge that this process has historical roots and is characterised by continuities and disruptions. Transformationalists note that globalisation has reached most parts of the world, however this has created a global stratification system with some in the ‘centre’ and many others in the ‘periphery’. Often these variations are observable within nations, for instance in the extreme poverty within developed countries and extreme richness in poor countries (Stiglitz, 2002).

Despite serious disagreements about the precise nature of globalisation scholars generally acknowledge some fundamental shifts in the functioning of society. Scholte (2000) argues that a new vocabulary emerges within the public consciousness whenever the existing vocabulary fails to explain a new phenomenon. Thus frequent usage of the term 'globalisation' must mean the existence of a *new* form of social organisation which has captured public imagination. Most scholars who take a balanced view of globalisation (that is the transformationalists) refer to the work of David Harvey (1989), who used time-space dynamics to explain the social changes that mark the beginning of post-modernity. To Harvey (1989, p. 201) time and space are the 'basic categories of human existence' which explains the existence, evolution and change in society; despite this they are hardly questioned and appear 'self-evident'. He argues that the current social changes due to the compression of time-and space mark a fundamental shift from an earlier era of modernisation. Although he does not use the term globalisation his work suggests that globalisation (or the condition of postmodernity as he calls it) marks the new ways in which we experience time and space, which among other things has caused the shift from Fordism to more flexible modes of capital accumulation.

Anthony Giddens develops the idea of time and space and uses it to explain what he calls 'late modernity' (rather than post-modernity). For Giddens (1990) the technological advancements during current times make it possible to think of 'timeless time' and 'spaceless space'. It is possible now to imagine real-time happenings at multiple locations i.e. the occurrence of something at a distance which can be observed around the world at the same time with the help of technology. An example of this could be a football or cricket match being watched live by so many audiences who could not be physically present at one stadium. Time can travel through multiple spaces and is no longer bound by it. Likewise space is no longer a physical concept; space does not only mean place any longer. People at different locations in the world can come together in conference through advanced technological devices. They can also engage in asynchronous discussion in cyberspace of a subject and may not necessarily be present at one place or at one

time – cyberspace is a completely new phenomenon, which was not possible prior to the invention of the internet and web technologies. Thus the technology has reformed the concepts of time and space and has also set them free from each other. Being in one space at the same time does not necessarily require the physical presence of people; likewise being at multiple spaces at the same time is quite imaginable. Capturing this complexity of time and space Anthony Giddens (1990)) defines globalisation as follows:

Globalization can thus be defined as the intensification of world wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanced relations that shape them. *Local transformation* is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space (p. 64, italics original).

This definition of globalisation however still leaves some ambiguity about globalisation being distinct from any other spatio-temporal geography like localisation, internationalisation and universalisation (Held et al., 1999; Scholte, 2000). For Scholte (2000) deterritorialisation is the most defining feature of globalisation. Territory is still important but now social geography is not necessarily territorial because of the reconfiguration of social space, as discussed earlier. Social connections are formed in a space not bound by territory e.g. over phone talk, cyber space, electronic money. Many social conditions and relations are now formed in supra territorial space. Taking this into account, Held et al. advanced the following definition of globalisation:

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (p. 16).

The term globalisation is sometimes used to describe both the ‘process of globalisation’ and ‘condition of globalisation’ thus creating confusion. Steger (2003) suggests the use of ‘globality’ to refer to the ‘condition of globalisation’, while globalisation refers to the processes that bring about this condition of ‘globality’. This is a minor but crucially helpful distinction for understanding globalisation.

2 Dimensions of globalisation

Following the discussion around definitions it is imperative to ask: what have been the dominant motives that fostered global connections? What are the factors that dominate global relationships? In other words, there is a need to identify and understand different dimensions of the global connections or globalisation.

Following the work of Held et al. (1999), Modelski (2000), Jameson and Miyoshi (1998), Mittleman (1996) and Giddens (1990), this section will elaborate on four major aspects/dimensions of globalisation – economic, political, cultural and strategic. The focus will be to understand how each of these dimensions has altered its organisation, particularly since the end of the cold war, and what have been their dominant concerns. This discussion will be followed by teasing out the impact of globalisation on state policy authority, especially in the domain of education. The focus on dimensions will also help us see their distinctive effects on various aspects of the national sphere of authority and education policy.

2.1 Economic globalisation

The economy primarily deals with the production, exchange and consumption of goods, capital and services. Trade among different parts of the world provided the historical economic connections which for some represent the old form of globalisation (Modelski, 2000). The industrial revolution in the West encouraged nations to focus on production and export of goods. The logic was, the more a country could produce and export the better the economy. Mass production spurred the hunt for raw material beyond national borders and also the markets for products. Unfortunately, this hunt proved one of the impetuses for colonisation.

The growth of information technology has changed the shape and scope of national economies in recent times. The current economy is described as informational, global and networked, and as no longer operating on the logic of industrialism (Castells, 2000). Economic competitiveness depends highly on the growth and utilisation of information. The playing field of the economy is global across production, consumption and markets. Production and competition depend on the network of businesses and not just simply on solo players. Advancements in information and communication technologies play a vital role in this global interconnectivity. Just as in the Industrial Revolution, the Information Technology Revolution has significant bearing on the economy, which has become a global economy and can be defined as ‘an economy whose core components have the institutional, organizational and technological capacity to work as a unit in real time, or in chosen time, on a planetary scale’ in a complex network of interconnected transactions (Castells, 2000, p. 102).

The information technology revolution has fundamentally changed the nature of the products that are produced and exchanged. Castells (2000) classifies the products into high-technology and low-technology goods; and high-knowledge and low-knowledge services. This classification indicates that unlike the initial days of the industrial revolution, in the current economy both North and South are the producers and consumers of products. Earlier the Southern nations used to provide raw material, while Northern nations used to provide finished products. The exchange of goods and services is in both directions now, however, the difference is that of degree of technology and knowledge employed in the products and services. The trade commodities from developing countries are largely in low-value products i.e. low-technology and low-knowledge. The share among developing countries is also skewed in favour of East Asian economies and China, leaving Africa and Latin America behind. The movements of capital were much more restricted initially but thanks to the technology, finance can move from place to place in high volumes and with greater velocity. Due to the interconnectedness and interdependence of global financial markets the effects on one market are visible across the globe. ‘The

globalization of the financial markets is the backbone of the new global economy' (Castells, 2000, p. 106). The current financial crisis demonstrates the interconnectivity of the global financial markets. The crisis that started from USA soon spread across the globe subsequently leading to calls for global concerted efforts to overcome the challenge.

Just as the nature of products and their exchange was re-shaped during the age of the Information Technology Revolution so too did the production of goods, service and labour. As a consequence of the activities of the Multinational Corporations (MNCs), the production of goods and services is being organised on a global scale. The production sites can move where goods and services can be produced in the cheapest way to continue to be competitive and maximise profit. This brings in the notion of foreign direct investments (FDI) or the investments that a MNC bring to a country. Another phenomenon of changed production is 'outsourcing', in which production is often moved offshore to cut the cost. This kind of flexibility has enabled MNCs to dominate world trade, and account for around two-thirds of world trade (UNCTAD, 1995, p. 23 in Held et al., 1999, p.236). Within this enormity and flexibility of the world production system, there are patterns of stratification. The vast majority of MNCs and FDIs originate from and move within OECD countries, although the share of developing countries has been rising since the late 1980s (Held et al., 1999).

Another historical development which made global exchanges more possible and secure is the creation of global institutions of regulation. The Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 established a system of fixed exchange which also set the basis of multilateral trading and also created such institutions as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to support economic development and fiscal discipline. There were also constant developments towards reducing trade barriers which culminated in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in the late 1940s, which was subsequently replaced by World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1995 as a more powerful institution. The major push of these international agreements was to reduce international barriers on trade and ultimately liberalise trade with minimum or no national tariffs. Developing countries, initially reluctant to

opt for reducing trade barriers in order to support the growth of domestic industry and export, finally succumbed to the pressures of multilateral agencies like the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO (Held et al., 1999). By the 1970s a largely free trade order had been established among OECD countries and by the 1980s it had been extended to developing countries. Under the WTO regime almost all countries of the world in principle agreed to free trade by 2005. The free trade agreements later moved into the service sector through the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) (Robertson, 2006).

Another feature of the current global economy is the appearance and growth of regional trade blocks like the European Union (EU), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). At first glance this seems counter to globalisation trends (Miyoshi, 1998), however, both Castells (2000) and Held et al (1999) argue that regionalisation has in fact worked alongside the trends to globalisation rather than in opposition to them. These regional blocks on the one hand promote cooperation within the region, while on the other they provide a consolidated forum to a region to negotiate with others. Often these regions not only remain economic entities but become political as well (for example the EU (Lawn, 2003)).

Thus if globalisation is mainly about interconnections, within the economic domain these connections are visible and shaped through: i) the nature of products that are produced and exchanged; ii) the global networks of production managed by multinational corporations; and iii) the networks that govern these global exchanges.

2.2 Political globalisation

The route from early notions of the state to current configurations developed through a long history of European imperialism from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. The earlier forms of the state can be called imperial states as they cannot be matched with present forms of nation states (Shaw, 1997). The later phase of the development

of the state towards the form of nation state goes concurrently with the expansion of European imperialism initially by Spain and Portugal and later by Holland, France and Britain. Shaw (1997) suggests that only through the demise of the imperial European state has there been the emergence of the nation-state in Europe and later spreading to the rest of the world. The key features of the modern nation state system are: 'the centralization of political power, the expansion of state administration, territorial rule, the diplomatic system, the emergence of regular, standing armies' (Held et al., 1999, p. 39).

The 'Westphalian model' of the nation state (named after the Peace Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 in Europe) envisaged the world comprising sovereign nation states with absolute political authority within their territory (Held et al., 1999). The model assumed that a government in any state possesses legitimate authority to govern the collective lives of its citizens. National policies were supposedly devised to serve the interests of the citizens and the relationships between states were based on pure national interests. During the later half of the twentieth century, the European welfare states became the model for most worlds, although socialism provided an alternative until the collapse of Soviet Union in late 1980s. For some this triumph marked the final stage of political evolution (Fukuyama, 1992). The European welfare states based on Keynesian economics relied upon high industrial growth, high consumption and equitable distribution of wealth through taxation system.

Following World War II and the gradual independence of the former colonies, the geographical map of the world altered profoundly. There were 81 states in 1950, a number which rose to 134 in 1970 and to 167 by 1991 (Nierop, 1994 app. 2 reproduced in Held et al., 1999, p. 54). Along with this trend there were increasing attempts at establishing global governance structures that acknowledged the interdependence of nations across the world. The global governance structures materialised in a complex form through world political structures, world economic structures and non-governmental structures (Murphy, 2000). The growing integration of the world community through advanced communication technology made it

possible to be aware of worldwide events and to settle world problems amicably without resorting to wars (although this still remains an unfulfilled desire). This led to the emergence of such institutions as the League of the Nations leading to the United Nations with its multiple sections. The economic governance of the world was achieved through the Bretton Woods Agreements and the creation of such organisations as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO). Military alliances were also made, most visibly the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Apart from these formal structures many non governmental structures emerged like the Non Governmental Organisation (NGOs) and the Multinational Corporations (MNCs), which have a very strong influence upon global and national decisions. This structure of global governance is criticised for creating the postcolonial means for establishing hegemony of the powerful states led by the USA (Hoogvelt, 2001). In addition to the structural instruments the new imperialism is being established through discursive resources often presented through the rhetoric of international development (Tikly, 2004).

Current world politics is worked out at a global level through networks that involve not only formal inter-governmental actors, but also non-governmental players. There is a plethora of treaties, agreements, forums and conferences organised around global, regional or other political, economic or social interests. Examples are the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the European Union (EU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Arab League, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the Group of Eight (G8), the World Economic Forum, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Much of the time of national governments is spent in dealing with, participating in and responding to the demands created by this multi-layered and complex system of global governance (Held & McGrew, 2002).

This brings us to the question of the role of state within the integrated system of global governance. Does the state enjoy the same kind of exclusive authority over its

geography and sovereignty as it used to around a century or so ago? No, 'not in the strongest sense often implied by the more enthusiastic theorists' responds Michael Mann (1997, p. 495). He suggests that nation-states have different degrees of control over their geography and sovereignty throughout the history and the difference is more visible if we compare nations of the South with those of the North. Although global networks are strengthening, they are also mediated through many national features. These global networks have different impacts on different regions which may simultaneously foster both nationalism as well as transnationalism. Thus it is difficult to determine whether the nation state is strengthening or weakening; the certainty is that it is being transformed but remains a major player in global governance (Shaw, 1997). The world is still composed of states and even global networks have to work with state machinery (Panitch, 1996).

Cameron (2000) after considering various future scenarios with rising and declining globalisation and its implications for state authority concludes that the state remains significantly important in all possible scenarios. Even the World Bank, which preached minimalist government at the beginning of the 1990s started calling for an 'effective' rather than a 'minimalist' state in its World Development Report of 1997 entitled 'the state in a changing world' (Chhibber, 1997). Despite the importance and foreseeable relevance of the nation states, it is also acknowledged by most scholars that there have been some shifts in its role and authority. The state has to renegotiate its absolute national authority with a multitude of supranational structures, organisations and networks (Dale, 1999). The effects of globalisation on the national sphere of authority will be discussed towards the end of the chapter in more detail and in particular relation to education policy authority.

2.3 Cultural globalisation

Perhaps the most visible form of globalisation for most people is in the form of cultural exchanges. We encounter culture in the form of art, fashion, leisure, religion and languages from around the world on a daily basis and maybe without moving away from our computer or television. Put simply, culture concerns the 'symbolic

construction, articulation, and dissemination of meaning' (Steger, 2003, p. 69). These meanings are driven through larger experience of the society and develop the sense of unique identity of a person, social group and society at large. The growth of the communication technology and media networks has created an apparently more integrated society, which has on the one hand broadened our cultural experience, while on the other challenged the identities that people have lived with and fostered over generations. Cultural globalisation refers to these flows of symbols, images, languages and other forms of cultural expressions across regions, civilizations and continents that create a sense of identity or belongingness (Held et al., 1999).

The debate on cultural globalisation mainly revolves around the key idea of cultural homogenisation, which engages with the questions: whether globalisation is promoting similarity and killing difference; and whether globalisation is a vehicle of cultural imperialism which evokes resistances.

George Ritzer (1996) in his popular book put forward the analogy of 'McDonaldisation of society' to argue that under the influence of the global corporate world and media industry the world is fast moving towards a preferred and homogenised way of living and doing business. Four dimensions or benefits, he argued, underlie this rapid process of McDonaldisation and make it attractive to the wider society. These dimensions are: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control. Just as the notions of bureaucracy, scientific management and assembly lines provided impetus to the industrial revolution, McDonaldisation can be thought of as underlying logic behind the information technology revolution. The idea of *Toyotism* as opposed to Fordism is in fact another way of referring to preferred ways of production in the new global world (Castells, 2000). Borrowing from the Japanese car industry and its management and production processes *Toyotism* refers to new style of management. This style is based on management-worker cooperation, multifunctional labour, total quality control, and reduction of uncertainty. The ideas of McDonaldisation and *Toyotism* not only indicate preferred ways of production but also of consumption. Following the logic of these ideas, it can be argued that both McDonaldisation and *Toyotism* logics can be used to exploit, generate and mould

consumer habits. They tend to increase predictability and profits and reduce risk and variations. In doing so, these management logics tend to see people mainly as consumers and generate a media machinery to create predicted preferences, demands, habits and in short a full culture – a culture of consumption. When this culture becomes a central tool manipulated by some global powers it leads to cultural imperialism. In his brilliant analysis of US films and television programmes, Rowe (2004) shows that it is not only through news channels but also through films and television programmes that the US media is conditioning public sentiments around the globe. He further argues that through the creation of a culture of fear the US government is pursuing a foreign policy of naked violence through war the world over. According to this analysis the USA has parallels with traditional imperialism, just as in its traditional forms, contemporary US imperialism is entangled with economic and military interests.

Contrary to the claims made by Rowe (2004), Tomlinson (1991) identifies problems within the notion of ‘cultural imperialism’. Analysing media imperialism as a form of cultural imperialism, he argues that unrealistic power is associated with the media, which does not correspond with empirical evidence and our lived experiences. Thus towards the conclusion of his book he suggests substituting cultural imperialism with cultural globalisation. He argues this because the notion of imperialism suggests a coherent project monitored by some force from a point of domination, while cultural globalisation suggests that it is affecting the core as much as it is affecting the periphery. Does this imply that there is no cultural domination? Steger (2003) argues against this position and suggest that the idea of leaderless globalisation appears mythical when tested against empirical evidence which suggests that the globalisation processes are mainly shaped by markets, multi national corporations, world organisations and military powers. The centre of all these powers resides mainly in the USA and to varying degrees in the Global North.

The idea of cultural imperialism as opposed to cultural globalisation i.e. homogenisation versus difference was tackled brilliantly by Arjun Appadurai (1996) by introducing the idea of flows or *scapes* to understand the cultural flows across

national boundaries. He identifies five kinds of *scapes*: *ethnoscapes*, *technoscapes*, *financescapes*, *mediascapes* and *ideoscapes* to respectively denote the international flows of people, technology, finance, images and ideas. Appadurai (1996, p. 42) disputes that cultural globalisation means homogenisation, but emphasises that 'globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization'.

Thus the debate about global culture currently revolves around the politics of sameness and difference. International hegemonic cultural flows push on the one hand homogenisation on a global scale; the same flows are indigenised on their arrival in the national cultural space and can symbolise difference. The pull and push between homogenisation and difference sometimes results in riots, in 'ethnic cleansing' and state violence. However, the same factor sometimes results in the positive resurgence and prevalence of people over a state as in South Africa or Poland.

Appadurai's disjunctive cultural flows are an appealing framework to understand the complexity of cultural globalisation which happens simultaneously and in multiple directions through and in different *scapes*. These flows are fraught with disjunctures within them and do not represent any cultural preference over others, leading to the politics of sameness versus difference, globalisers versus anti-globalisers, modernisers versus fundamentalists and so on. Some of these discontents have become part and parcel of present cultural globalisation (see for example the analysis of Barber, 1996; Stiglitz, 2002), which appear for example through the Zapatista movement in Mexico (J. Nash & Kovic, 1996) or the Islamic resurgence in many parts of the world (Pasha & Samatar, 1996).

2.4 Strategic globalisation

The strategic interests of a state relate to its capacity to maintain long term security of the national interests in both national and international domains. This advantage is traditionally maintained through overt and covert military operations, wars, intelligence operations and through forging strategic alliances. Some scholars such as

Giddens (1990) and Held et al. (1999) have talked about military globalisation, however, 'military' in its traditional sense does not capture the complexity of security concerns which we encounter in our world especially post 9/11. The threats to national security no longer come from states but also from non-state actors (Cha, 2000); military interests are also more intertwined with economic, political and cultural aspects. Thus the use of the term strategic rather than military globalisation seems more accurate.

Held et al. (1999, p. 88) define military globalisation as 'a process which embodies the growing extensity and intensity of military relations among the political units of the world system.' Expanding on this description of military globalisation, strategic globalisation is concerned with the interconnectedness of the world around security concerns – both traditional and modern security threats. In a traditional military sense the agents of threats were states and security constituencies were sovereign borders. In addition to the traditional threats, the major modern security threats come from non-state actors and the security constituencies also include strategic installations abroad. Security concerns are also no longer only in their physical form, but increasingly such concerns revolve around securing non-physical threats to information technology assets or to ideological assets (Cha, 2000). Thus dealing with such threats, Cha (2000) argues, requires more concerted efforts at global level through multilateralism, bureaucratic innovations and aggregate capabilities.

For hegemonic states on a regional or world scale, strategic globalisation is not simply limited to security concerns, but also involves maintenance and growth of their strategic advantage, which paradoxically creates a more insecure environment for other states (Hoffmann, 2002). Nevertheless, this does create new modes of interconnections, albeit involving unequal relations. We will now see how these strategic interconnections developed through history and what their present shape is.

The Cold War also resulted in three other aspects worth considering here concerning globalisation – the spread of advanced weapons, the world arms trade, and military alliances. The production and dispersion of technologically advanced and lethal

weapons spread at a tremendous speed and at global scale courtesy of the two super powers as each strove to maintain their strategic advantage over the other. The scale of proliferation means that there is no 'Third World' in terms of weaponry, only a 'First World' (Giddens, 1999, p. 74). The world arms trade reached to its peak at around \$45-50 billion in the mid 1980s at the height of Cold War (Held et al., 1999, p. 112). This increased arms production and trade led to a serious post Cold War dilemma. The heightened military production could not be sustained, thus military producers, which were predominantly private firms mainly in the USA and also across Europe, Japan and China, had to find new markets. The United States is the largest arms supplier responsible for half the world supply, 70% of which goes to developing countries (Cha, 2000, p. 56). Thus the end of Cold War did not necessarily bring a world with fewer weapons, an argument also made by Nye Jr. (2001).

The Cold War also encouraged a new era of military strategic alliances. Thus the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was formed in 1949 between European and North American nations against Soviet aggression. The Soviet nations signed the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to have joint defence and countering NATO. Increasingly these pacts were not simply military alliances, but as discussed earlier contained more strategic clauses and were much broader in scope. Although the Warsaw Pact dissolved with the dissolution of the Soviet regime, NATO remains. On similar patterns, strategic alliances emerged in Asia (the ASEAN Regional Forum – ARF), Africa (the OAU – Organisation of African Unity) and Latin America (the OAS – Organisation of American States) (Held et al., 1999).

The events of the September 11, 2000 led to another era of security and strategic concerns. Unlike the Cold War the current world is dominated by a single super power – the USA – and unlike previous times the alleged enemy is not a state but myriad sub-state actors and transnational criminal groups. The so-called 'war on terrorism' is unconventional; it comprises military conflicts on a global scale against states, non-state groups and individuals. As described by its proponents, it is fought not at battle fronts, but in remote localities, through unconventional strategies with

support from media and favourable scholarship. Unfortunately, terrorism has been given an 'Islamic' label and is being fought on a global scale through interlinked intelligence (Hoffmann, 2002).

This so-called global war has to be fought through multilateralism, bureaucratic innovation and aggregated capabilities (Cha, 2000). Unfortunately, the inhumane and corporate influenced war on terror has been causing 'antiterrorist violence' to the very nations that forge this war (Hoffmann, 2002). Thus the state's confinement is being reinforced and movement of people is restricted against the neo-liberal wish to open up markets. On the other hand, the civil liberties that were being enjoyed by the citizens of most democratic countries' around the world and especially in USA are being curtailed in the name of the war on terror (Rizvi, 2004). These policies of the powerful nations have led to violent conflicts across the world, which according to Pilisuk and Zazzi (2006), have been caused by the elite networks of multinational corporations, military power, government agencies and strategists. Such actions have caused huge displacements and a cycle of violence worldwide. This is the unfortunate state of strategic globalisation, which is dominating the world agenda at the moment.

3 Concluding remarks concerning globalisation

I started with the understanding of globalisation as a set of processes forging interconnectivity of distant localities, highlighting the time/space features. These interconnectivities appear through economic, political, cultural and strategic relationships. In the preceding sections, I have taken a historical view at each of these various dimensions of globalisation and highlighted the main features of those relations that are being transformed due to globalisation process. It is worth mentioning that these dimensions do not stand alone and often interact with each other to produce ever more complex relations.

In discussing these dimensions, it appears that the world has gone through the same stages of development leading to modernisation, which is certainly not the case if we

glance over the history of non-Western nations. Tikly (2001) rightly notes that much of the debate around globalisation is based on the experiences of the developed countries marginalizing the least developed. Not-so-distant history shows that while the West was advancing through industrial revolution the countries of the South were being colonised. Hence, there are close connections between the studies of globalisation and postcolonialism, which have grown out of different traditions, but which need to be brought together to account for a more comprehensive study of globalisation (Rizvi, 2007). Those scholars who have tried to look at both sides of developments often refer to globalisation as neo-imperialism pointing to the new forms of domination by the developed nations (see for example Hoogvelt, 2001; Miyoshi, 1998).

Hoogvelt (2001) argues that just as colonialism created beneficiaries and losers, so globalisation has the same effects. The unequal distribution of the benefits of globalisation has led to the classification of the globe into core, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries (Santos, 2002b). Hoogvelt (2001) singles out the USA as a leading neo-imperialist which accrues the biggest advantages by maintaining the current form of globalisation (more correctly the neo-liberal form of globalisation). Not only the economic, but also the militaristic presence of the USA in different regions of the world strengthens Hoogvelt's argument. Through analysing the situations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine, Gregory (2004) argues that colonialism was not only the feature of our past but remodels itself as the 'colonial present' with the USA as the major imperial power.

It is also important to clarify whether globalisation processes are ideologically neutral or carry some preferred norms. Both Bourdieu (2003) and Santos (2002b) highlight the view that globalisation should not be perceived narrowly. The same processes that carry one dominant ideology can potentially transfer other ideologies. To highlight this point, Santos (2002a) invites us to think in terms of plural globalisations – hegemonic globalisation and counter-hegemonic globalisation, the former referring to 'globalisation from-the-top-downwards' and the latter to 'globalisation from-the-bottom-upwards' (Santos, 2002a, pp. 27-28). The latter is

close to what Appadurai (2001) calls ‘vernacular globalisation’. In an interview with Roger Dale and Susan Robertson, Santos defines his conception of globalisation as follows:

‘...the process by which a given entity reaches the globe by enlarging its own ambit, and by doing so, develops the capacity or the prerogative of naming as ‘local’ all rival entities.’ (Dale & Robertson, 2004, p. 149)

The currently dominant form of globalisation is referred as neo-liberal globalisation, which advocates the supremacy of the market over the state and individuals. The main precepts of neo-liberalism include ‘an emphasis on market principles and production of profits; a minimalist role for the state; a deregulated labor [sic.] market; and flexible forms of governance’ (Rizvi et al., 2005, p. 12). These major principles of neo-liberalism are also highlighted by such terms as the ‘Washington Consensus’, which refers to the preferred policy prescriptions of the world’s developed nations and mostly Washington-based agencies like the World Bank and IMF during the decade of 1980s and 1990s. These preferences included the policy of fiscal disciplining, new public spending priorities, tax reform, financial liberalisation, competitive exchange rate, trade liberalisation, increased foreign direct investment, privatisation and deregulation of the economy (Williamson, 1993). Bourdieu (2001) notes with concern and distress that one of the biggest achievements of the neo-liberal globalisation is that it has made the market oriented language and conceptions appear as ‘natural’ and ‘common sense’ across the world. In terms of education policy earlier egalitarian views on education have been transformed into market oriented views, thus people now commonly view educational provisions in terms of their economic benefits. The debate about the higher aims of education is sidelined under this neo-liberal influenced educational discourse.

At this point it is crucially important to emphasise that global domination of a particular form of globalisation (neo-liberal globalisation) is not only achieved through structural instruments but also and arguably more importantly through

discursive means (Tikly, 2004). The ideology of neo-liberal globalisation is promoted and upheld worldwide by a

‘powerful phalanx of social forces located chiefly in the global North, consisting of corporate managers, executives of large transnational corporations, corporate lobbyists, journalists and public-relations specialists, intellectuals writing to a large public audience, state bureaucrats, and politicians’ (Steger, 2003, pp. 94-95).

In this ideological work of globalisation discourses play a central role. Fairclough (2006) argues that language is a prominent discursive resource that is being employed by global institutions and world leaders to establish their dominance. Discourses which are enacted through the particular use of language and vocabulary have the ability to influence the meaning of certain reality, which can also bring material changes. The change of government in USA through the election of Barack Obama has brought a noticeable discursive shift. The abandonment of such terms as ‘war on terror’ by the new administration is a deliberate attempt to signal a policy shift. The utilisation of discursive resources by former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair is often quoted as a prime example of mobilisation of language to invoke certain discourses to mould public opinion (see Fairclough, 2000). In the field of education due attention needs to be paid towards understanding the discursive shifts if we want to fully understand the effects of globalisation on education policy (Tikly, 2004). This will be kept in mind when I move further to look at the effects of globalisation on education policy. But before that, it is better to pause and look at the relevance of globalisation for Pakistani society. This will help us understand the relevance of this general globalisation discussion within the specificity of my research context – Pakistan. This is important as globalisation processes affect national policies in particular ways unique to that particular locality and therefore should be understood in that framework (Tikly, 2001).

4 Pakistan in a global world – the relevance of globalisation for Pakistan

So far we have reviewed the main characteristics and analytical/theoretical approaches to the phenomenon of globalisation. I have emphasised the multi-faceted nature of globalisation, and taken seriously scholarly warnings about its adoption in a simplistic way as an explanation of policy developments (Dale, 2005). Rather the concern has been to identify its different elements, including those that have most salience for this study. I have highlighted the economic repertoire of neo-liberal globalisation, and distinguished between political, economic, strategic and cultural globalisation. These are important distinctions to bear in mind when I turn now to globalisation's impact in Pakistan and its responses to globalisation. Consideration of the key characteristics of Pakistan – as discussed in chapter 2 – make it immediately apparent that globalisation raises complex and difficult questions for the sphere of authority of Pakistan as a nation state – there are strategic, cultural and economic implications of globalisation for Pakistan's sphere of authority very broadly defined, and also in relation to education.

I deal below with strategic issues first, because they are an unavoidable part of the context, though not my primary focus. I then consider economic globalisation in relation to the influence of the donor agencies, followed by political globalisation and governance in Pakistan

Pakistan has played a key role during the 'Cold War' and the US led 'War on Terror'. When the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan became a front line state to counter this invasion backed by the USA (Kux, 1998). Post September 11, 2001 Pakistan was again needed for the 'War on Terror', which is again being fought in Afghanistan. Coincidentally, during both these periods, Pakistan was governed by Military Generals (Zia and Musharraf). On both occasions Pakistan received generous financial aid for military and non-military developments from the USA and its allies. The total US aid to Pakistan (including military aid) was estimated to be \$ 1,357 million for the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-88), which was significantly higher

than previous periods (Ahsan, 2005). It is important to note that previously US aid to Pakistan was reduced significantly when it refused to roll back its nuclear programme during the late 1970s. However, following the Russian invasion of Afghanistan the aid was increased to even higher levels. When Pakistan joined the US-led War on Terror in Afghanistan in 2001, a significant rise in aid flows followed. The total aid package comprised four elements: i) the removal of economic sanctions; ii) \$1.2 billion foreign assistance for 2002-2003; iii) a \$379 million rescheduling of bilateral debt; and iv) trade concessions (Momani, 2004). The education sector itself received a \$ 100 million aid package for five years beginning in 2002 (Kronstadt, 2004). Again this rise contrasted with a very low level of US aid to Pakistan due to the economic sanctions levied on Pakistan in the aftermath of its nuclear explosion in 1998. US aid also influences other multilateral and bilateral aid to Pakistan like that from the IMF, the World Bank, JICA and DFID. The rise of US aid to Pakistan when it was needed and its reduction when it was not, indicates to the political nature of this US aid along with that of other donors who follow the US example (Ahsan, 2005).

The involvement of Pakistan in the Cold War and the War on Terror led to a serious crisis in local politics and the social order. Arms became readily available, society was radicalised and the educational curriculum was subjected to experimentation. The support of the major global powers for the authoritarian regimes in Pakistan also destabilised democratic institutions and norms. Education, which was supposed to make efforts for nation building and human capital development as argued in chapter 2, became the victim of neighbouring conflict. During the Zia period (1979-87) the curriculum was radicalised (A. H. Nayyar & Salim, 2003), while the Musharraf regime (1999-2008) tried to reform the education system, curriculum and madrasas for promoting 'enlightened moderation'. In both of these periods the impetus to reform seems to come from external rather than internal needs and motives. The politicisation of the education system made it difficult to handle the huge task of nation building, which has been considered a pivotal function of education in the Western world (Green, 1990). The Islamic ideology which was supposed to provide the basis for nation building, as I have argued in chapter two, was used to radicalise

society because of the strategic globalisation that Pakistan faced. Gregory (2004) would analyse this as an example of the current form of colonialism whereby Pakistan's apparent independence appears constrained by globalisation processes.

As far as economic globalisation is concerned, aid dependency is the most important phenomenon. We have seen in chapter 2 that Pakistan remains dependent on international assistance both financially and technically. The recent crisis in global financial markets has hit Pakistan hard. Rising inflation, food prices, energy costs, the declining worth of the rupee and the depletion of foreign reserves have led the country to ask the IMF for emergency funds. The IMF conditions attached to the funding generally hit hard at social sector spending and particularly the education sector (Marphatia et al., 2007). It is yet to be seen how the new financial situation of the country and funding arrangements will affect the education sector. At the beginning of 2001 we saw a major push in Pakistan to reforming education and huge flow of resources to basic as well as higher education. The country was intent on producing PhDs and IT workers in order to excel in the global knowledge economy: however, the looming financial crisis would reverse this drive.

One of the most important political reforms in Pakistan was the launch of the devolution plan in 2001 by the Musharraf government. Decentralisation is a worldwide phenomenon and a favoured policy of neo-liberal globalisation. Under the devolution plan in Pakistan, district governments were established at local level (Pakistan. Government of, 2001). It is interesting to note that at that time the provincial governments were not functioning. The elections for the district governments installed a new political order, whereby the federal government directly maintained the local governments, or if not directly, through indirect controls over finances and political legitimacy. Musharraf called it 'real democracy' at the grassroots level. With the coming in of a new government there are plans to abolish the devolved structure as it impedes the power of provincial governments. This shows that although Pakistan followed the global trend of decentralising its governance structure, the changed political situation from 2008 reverses this process. I have noted in chapter two under political and ideological context that the political

legacy of the initial years had solidified the centralising tendency of political elites. This centralising tendency is in friction with the global push for decentralisation, leading to a complex national political situation.

In this section I have briefly highlighted some of the ways various forms of globalisation affect Pakistan. The strategic importance of Pakistan for the global war on terror is highly significant and I have noted that as in the past, this new strategic positioning of Pakistan has negative effects for the national sphere of policy authority. I also noted Pakistan's dependence on global financial institutions and the friction between global and national priorities for political structures of government. This brief discussion is presented to underline globalisation's dependence on national specificities, a point also highlighted by Appadurai (1996). In order to understand how globalisation has reshaped the education policy authority of the nation state, it is important to first chart out the repertoire of global education policy field, to which I will turn now.

5 The Global education policy field

Globalisation is supposed to have produced the 'knowledge economy' and 'knowledge society' (Castells, 2000): education being the most prominent institution dealing with knowledge so it takes the highest prominence (Ozga & Lingard, 2007). Scholars highlight that education policy choices are converging through extensive transactions between policy lenders and borrowers across globe (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004). There are noticeable convergences in education policies in various parts of the world in terms of educational technologies, processes and contents. The 2006 World Yearbook of Education observes that globalisation along with knowledge has 'created a relatively coherent set of policy themes and processes through which policy makers ... are shaping education systems' (Ozga et al., 2006, p. 8). The global convergence in education policy has given rise to the thinking about an emerging 'global education policy field' (Ozga & Lingard, 2007). Similar observations have been made by other scholars, for example Henry et al (2001, p. 30) talks about the emergence of 'meta-policy' and Rizvi et al (2005, p. 5) refers to an emerging

‘educational policy terrain’ to refer to the ways globalisation encourages broad consensus in education policy.

Lingard, Rawolle & Taylor (2005) used the concept of ‘field’ introduced by Pierre Bourdieu and the concept of ‘policy cycle’ developed by Stephen Ball and colleagues (Bowe et al., 1992) to suggest that in the present era of globalisation the education policy field is inevitably and of necessity globalised. This suggests that to better understand national education policies one needs to take account of a ‘global education policy field’ and its impact on the national. The global and national education policy fields also interact with economic, political and cultural fields at national, regional and global levels to affect the resultant policy – referred as ‘cross field effects’ (Lingard et al., 2005). The ‘global education policy field’ is broadly characterised by shared organisational forms and processes like devolution, deregulation, privatisation and new ways of governance. This field needs efficient performance from education systems, which requires careful measurement techniques and statistical data on performance – the so called ‘governing by numbers’ (Grek, 2009). In addition, the ‘global education policy field’ has also constituted a discursive terrain within which the education policy is produced at global, regional or national levels (Rizvi et al., 2005). The discursive frame legitimises or overrules several policy options pursued within national policy domains. Together the processes and discourses that constitute global education policy field create the global conditions for national policy making and in this way impinge on the national sphere of authority of the state.

It is however simplistic to assume that the global field has an overriding capacity to demolish any national policy features. To the contrary Jones and Alexiadou (2001) argue that this global policy or what they refer to as ‘travelling policy’ interacts and negotiates with ‘embedded policy’. The embedded policy is based on the unique national features and histories. This interaction of travelling and embedded policies produces more ‘vernacular education policies’ (Appadurai, 1996; Lingard, 2000).

I will now begin to explain various elements of this global education policy field and will also try to reflect on Pakistani situation within each of these elements.

5.1 The Knowledge Economy

The major discourse that occupies the central stage within the global education policy field is of 'Knowledge Economy' (KE). This refers to a fundamental shift in the economy (mainly the developed economies) which is considered to have moved from an industrial to a knowledge base (Spring, 2008). According to Spring (2008) the scholarship of this concept started developing during the 1960s with the work of Becker (1964) and was popularised during the 1990s with the work of Robert Reich (1991) and Peter Drucker (1993). Realising the emergence of global economic structures and the declining competitive advantage of the West as industrial economies, this work considered 'knowledge' as the prime factor that could maintain the West's economic advantage. However the promise of KE was not limited to the West and was readily taken up by most of the developing world, particularly under the auspices of the World Bank and the UN (Spring, 2008). For some, this however seems to have caused an over supply of higher education graduates causing degree inflation (Brown & Lauder, 2006).

The KE discourse claims that 'knowledge' is the most important commodity within the present networked society (Castells, 2000). The organisations that are best able to generate and manage knowledge in their production and distribution systems stand better chances of growing than the ones that retain traditional industrial designs. This movement of the economy from traditional to modern forms of production is also referred to as a shift to a post-Fordist economy or post industrial economy (Amin, 1994). The growing importance of Information and Communication Technologies within this flexible and networked economic system spread over the globe is absolutely essential (King & McGrath, 2002). The global financial market cannot operate without ICT and its advanced information processing speeds.

The KE discourse has foregrounded education as the most important institution for economic and social development. Education system (schools, universities and vocational provision) hold the prime responsibility in growing and transferring knowledge for maintaining competitive economic advantage (Ozga et al., 2006). Education has to create knowledge workers who are adaptable to the fast changing environment and who are committed to self-improvement (Spring, 2008). Although educational institutions are taking central stage within the KE discourse, their relative autonomy and flexibility is being curtailed through various funding and governance instruments again influenced by globalisation (Morrow & Torres, 2000; Ozga et al., 2006).

In the context of Pakistan the knowledge economy discourse is most visible through the Higher Education Reforms that have been introduced since the beginning of the 2000s. In 2001 the Ministry of Education launched a Task Force on the Improvement of Higher Education in Pakistan, which was apparently influenced by an international report produced by the UNESCO and the World Bank (Ali, 2006). The Task Force recommended major restructuring of Higher Education in Pakistan (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2002b). The reforms in higher education perceived higher education as a key pillar for the economic growth of the country and a source of developing human capital. The key recommendations of the Task Force included restructuring of universities' governance structures; revision of the curriculum; emphasis on developing science and technology faculties; and forging links with industries. All of these restructuring policies were deemed necessary in order for Pakistan to be part of and compete in the global knowledge economy (Ali & Ahmad, 2008).

5.2 The Purpose of Education

Education has been increasingly viewed for its economic rather than social and liberal functions. Ozga and Lingard (2007) refer to this phenomenon as the 'economising' of education. The thinking about education is informed by the 'Washington Consensus' (Williamson, 1993), which is another way of articulating

neo-liberal policy priorities. Within this framework education's benefits to the economy are given priority over its effects on social development. The growth of human capital and building of a knowledge economy have increasingly become the main purposes of education policy around the globe. In the context of South East Asia and the Pacific education is being viewed as a means for developing social efficiency, which makes education responsible for building useful workers who can contribute simultaneously to the productivity of nations and corporations alike (Rizvi et al., 2005). Implicit within this assumption is the belief that there is convergence between national and corporate interests i.e. continuous economic growth, and education holds the responsibility of ensuring human capital supply for that achievement.

The logic of the market has triumphantly brought political right and left in close consensus when it comes to education (Apple, 2000; Whitty, 1997). The emerging consensus is in favour of building a knowledge economy and the way to build it is through ensuring choice, competition, standardisation of the curriculum, testing regimes and the development of life skills that sustain employment. While in the developed world education policy is aimed towards building the knowledge economy, the developing countries see it as a tool for alleviating poverty and ensuring economic development. Under the auspices of supranational organisations like the World Bank, the United Nations and many International Non Governmental Organisations (INGOs) the growing agenda for developing countries' education is Universal Primary Education and Education for All with their explicit links to poverty reduction. The irony is an implicit assumption of a 'singular global model of good education' (Marginson, 1999, p. 28). Pakistan's education policies have considered access to basic education as its prime objective since its inception. Although achievements have been made half of the population remains illiterate. The focus on access to primary education and universal provision for all became re-energised with the UNESCO-sponsored movement of achievement of Education for All (EFA) since 1990. Pakistan like other developing countries is supposed to ensure universal primary education by 2015. These global pressures and the subsequent link of international aid to achieving the targets of EFA have resulted in expanded

attention to these targets in Pakistani education policies since 1990 (Ali & Ahmad, 2008).

Increasingly the concerns of security have given another dimension to education policy around the world. In the post September 11 world, education has increasingly been seen as a tool to curtail extremism (Rizvi, 2004; Robertson et al., 2007). The case of madrasa education in Pakistan and the UK governments' alertness towards Islamic schools in the UK are examples of such cases. The government of Pakistan strongly pursued its policy of reforming madrasa education since 2001, which also received support from donor agencies in the aftermath of 9/11 (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2002a).

Whether education enhances social development and economic prosperity is still not undisputed; some consider it just one of the causes of economic prosperity. However, in the process education has itself become a market commodity to teach skills of and for globalisation (Marginson, 1999, p. 29). The WTO has included education as one of the commodities in the list of tradable services, which is evident in the international programmes of many international universities. The connection of education with economic growth and poverty reduction has created a global discourse where calls for democratic equality as a prime purpose of education are considered less relevant. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) prepared by the Pakistani government under the influence of the World Bank supports this observation (Pakistan. Planning Commission. Policy Wing. Finance Division. Poverty Reduction Cell, 2001). There are obvious challenges for Pakistani education policy in its prioritising of the economic agenda over the nation building agenda. I have noted in chapter two that Pakistani education policy has focused on both nation building and human capital building. The sidelining of nation building creates challenges for national identity for Pakistan's multi-ethnic population.

5.3 Lifelong Education/Learning

The discourse of lifelong learning is closely connected to the Knowledge Economy discourse. Both are based on the premises that globalisation is changing the economy which is fast moving from industrial to informational. The changing economic structure has implications for the nature of work and the type of workers required. Future work will be mostly information based (and mostly in the developed but also in the developing world) and there will be more part time than regular and lifetime opportunities (M. Carnoy, 2006). Such working conditions require workers to be more flexible, multi tasking and continuous learners. Hence the importance in global policy developments of lifelong education which grows from initial education over the whole span of life.

The concept of lifelong learning was popularised by UNESCO and OECD during 1970s and 1980s. The major concerns were similar in that there should be opportunities for individuals throughout their life to develop. Despite those similarities the approaches of UNESCO and the OECD have been quite different. UNESCO takes a more egalitarian view of the lifelong learning education while OECD's is a more pragmatic and economic view (Henry et al., 2001; Spring, 2008). It is also true that under the neoliberal globalisation the OECD's approach to lifelong learning is being popularised. It is suggested that individuals need to upskill themselves in order to meet the continuously changing requirements of the market. There are more generic knowledge and skills required like mathematical capacity, communication, interpersonal and problem solving skills along with the ability to manage one's own learning. According to the European Union lifelong learning refers to 'all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competence' (Commission of the European Communities, 2000, p. 3 cited in Spring, 2008, p. 339).

The education systems in the old capitalistic order were created mainly to fulfil the demand for a labour force for industrial growth (Morrow & Torres, 2000). In the era of globalisation the economy has created different human capital requirements. The national systems of education need to cater to the changed world of the work. The

Australian vocational policy under the influence of the OECD is a good case to show the influence that globalisation has on vocational education and training systems (Henry et al., 2001). This case shows that the responses to the global policy are also nationally mediated and within the domain of lifelong learning the tensions between economic and egalitarian views will continue. Carnoy (2006) suggests that the greater demand for post-secondary education will create challenges for the state, which need to ensure the provision of such educational opportunities while maintaining equity for the underprivileged. In Pakistan the priority is universal access to basic education for all. However the knowledge economy-influenced reforms in higher education, referred to earlier, encourage continuous professional development and skill development.

5.4 Measurement, indicators and standardisation

One of the most striking developments within the field of education over past two decades is the increase in educational statistics within country and across nations. More and more data are being generated showing the performance of education systems, schools, and overall national achievements. Grek (2009) calls this phenomenon ‘governing by numbers’ which refers to not only the production of these numbers but also using these numbers as a governance mechanism. Globalisation has promoted government structures which are deregulated, decentralised and steered through evaluation. Within such system data provide a useful governance means which can also ensure accountability and also demonstrate relative performance.

Carnoy (2006) notes that globalisation has created a ‘culture of educational measurement’ both within nations but also across nations; however these measurements can be used for completely different purposes depending on the ideology of the government. He also notes a substantial rise in international comparative test scores conducted by; e.g. OECD’s Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA), International Educational Assessment’s (IEA) Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and Progress in International Reading

Literacy Studies (PIRLS), American National Centre of Educational Statistics (NCES) (see also Grek, 2008, 2009). One of the reasons for the popularity and prevalence of such test scores emanates from the new rhetoric of the Knowledge Economy which values human capital of the country. The positive test scores provide an evidence of valuable human capital of a country thus attracting foreign investments (Carnoy, 2006).

In brief the measurement culture and international performance indicators promote and reinforce two important ideological stances: first, the consideration of education as a builder of human capital; and second, the promotion of new governance mechanisms through new public management initiatives (Henry et al., 2001). At the same time it is also observed that the international indicators project also has a tendency to create global harmonisation in schools systems and particularly in curriculum areas, what Dale (1994) referred as 'McDonaldisation of schooling'. The test scores benchmark performance of international education systems against standard criteria which also pushes for standard pedagogy and curriculum that ultimately ensure high performance on league tables. These test scores and performance indicators have become new technologies through which education policy is governed (Grek, Lawn, Lingard, & Varjo, 2009). The educational systems around the world and particularly in developed world are obsessed with quantifying the quality through measuring performance of teachers and schools over quality indicators. This provides the basis for not only assessing the quality of education system but also comparing one system against another. In Europe such performance data is being used to shape the national education policy choices in comparison to other European nations, resulting in a unified 'European education policy space' (Grek, Lawn, Lingard, Ozga et al., 2009; Lawn & Lingard, 2002). Having noted the homogenisation tendency of the indicators, it is important to recognise that nations use measurement and tests scores for various purposes which also include rationale for funding cuts, school improvement programmes and maintaining control over provincial systems and thus resulting in unique national systems (Carnoy, 2006).

The data production in the Ministry of Education in Pakistan is also on the increase. Although there are some doubts about the quality of the data, the trend of collecting educational statistics is increasing. A National Education Management Information System (NEMIS) was created within the Ministry of Education initially with the support of donor financing. NEMIS collects data from all the schools across the nation and produces annual reports. One of the biggest exercises conducted by NEMIS was the National Education Census with the support of National Bureau of Statistics. The Census started in 2005 and published its final reports right up to the district levels in 2007 (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2006). Apart from general education statistics, there is also strong encouragement for collecting statistics on students' performance through the national level assessment system. Both the 1998 education policy of Pakistan and the Education Sector Reforms (ESR) beginning in 2001 emphasise the importance of the national level assessment system to gauge national educational standards (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1998, , 2002a).

5.5 Curriculum

Rizvi et al. (2005) note that at primary and secondary levels there is hardly any change within the curriculum of countries in Asia and the Pacific region. Green (1997) notes that international dimensions have been enhanced in the curriculum of secondary and higher education systems of European countries. These are somewhat differing accounts, emanating from different regions of the world; however, one thing could cautiously be argued and that is that there are more noticeable changes at higher education level than at primary level. This is also perhaps due to the demands of the new knowledge economy.

The two most important shifts that are observable in education systems across the globe are the use of ICT and of the English language. English along with ICT is now considered a global literacy skill (Spring, 2008). Although there is a rising importance of ICT in curriculum across the globe there is a difference between 'knowledge about ICT' and 'knowledge through ICT' (Rizvi et al., 2005). Rizvi et al. note that most developing countries are not good at knowledge through ICT; the

teachers through short term courses could understand the functions of computer but are reluctant to use the same for improving their teaching practices. There is so called 'digital divide' within the Asia Pacific region and also within country. The shortage of funds for proper utilisation of ICT is a major impediment, which is reinforcing inequities.

As far as the English language is considered, it is recognised as the most important language, having the status of a global language (Spring, 2008). The importance of English in the national curriculum owes much to its significance for ICT and the global economy (Rizvi et al., 2005). Spring (2008) notes that the rise in importance of English also relates to the past history of British imperialism and subsequent rise of the USA. The major concern in relation to ICT and the English language is the threat of cultural homogenisation and the diminishing of local identities. Indeed Spring (2008) argues that the English language has become de-ethnicised and now represents the language of the global industrial-consumer culture.

Communications technologies and ICT have been identified as the most important area during the Higher Education reforms launched by the Pakistani government in 2001. Following these reforms, the government also encouraged investment in mobile communication technologies and internet provisions. Several universities, particularly the private foundations, introduced undergraduate and graduate level courses for ICT and the trend is growing. As far as the school curriculum of Pakistan is concerned, the debates regarding modernising the curriculum and provision of the English language persist. The modernisation debate highlights the poor quality of the Pakistani national curriculum which is considered as gender biased, as Islamised and historically distorted (Durrani, 2008; Lall, 2008). The English language debate takes place in a context where English remains the language of the elite and is thus the most sought after qualification by the majority of students. During 1970s and 1980s the national language (Urdu) was popularised rather than English; however, the rising advantages of English skills and weak policy direction by the government resulted in further privileging of English, to the extent that it is sought after even in the remotest localities of the country (Brain Harlech-Jones et al., 2005). Language is

the most politicised educational issue in Pakistan and caused the separation of East Pakistan in 1971; currently the increased status accorded to English-speakers is creating educational apartheid based on language (T. Rahman, 1996; Siddiqui, 2007).

5.6 Decentralisation, devolution and privatisation

Decentralization in education has been one of the most distinctive characteristics of education planning for more than two decades. Ronddinelli et al. (1984 cited in McGinn and Welsh, 1999; also Govinda, 1997) describe four forms of decentralization: deconcentration, delegation, devolution and privatisation. The four forms represent various points on a continuum that runs from deconcentration to privatisation. Deconcentration represents the weakest form of decentralisation, where the authority is only symbolically transferred to more local levels of the state, while privatisation represents complete transfer of authority to an independent body. Rizvi et al. (2005) classify decentralisation into three main areas: devolution, functional decentralisation and fiscal decentralisation. Here, devolution refers to major power shifts to the local level; functional decentralisation refers to shifting of specific functional authority to the local level; and fiscal decentralisation refers to shifting of fiscal authority (collection and distribution of funds) to local levels. Although Rizvi et al. (2005) have not considered 'privatisation' on the same continuum, we can conveniently add it to this classification of decentralisation based on Ronddinelli et al.'s work (1984 cited in McGinn and Welsh, 1999).

Decentralisation reforms have been increasing across the globe particularly since the 1990s (McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Rizvi et al., 2005). These reforms are being carried out under the broad rubric of 'good governance' which is in turn influenced by neoliberal views of the free market economy. According to McGinn and Welsh (1999) decentralisation reforms in education are being taken up more readily because of the declining authority of the state, the general agreement on free market principles and the utilisation of ICT and new technologies of governance by the state. Thus decentralisation reforms in any country can take place for political, funding and efficiency related motives and a mix of all three.

The decentralisation trend in education is being followed in the South Asian countries. Govinda (1997) presents a summary of the decentralisation experiences of South Asia. Rizvi et al. (2005) note a similar pattern of decentralisation in South East Asian countries, although for differing motives and with varying degrees of success. Turning towards Pakistan, decentralisation in education came through a radical devolution policy in August 2001, introduced by the Musharraf government. Thus not only education but the whole governance structure of the country was reconstructed with a pattern of devolved responsibilities. District governments were established with district, *tehsil*⁹ and union council tiers. The Local Government Plan 2001 was designed, according to the government, to address issues of good governance at a systemic level. It addressed five fundamentals: devolution of political power, decentralization of administrative authority, decentralization of management functions, diffusion of the power-authority nexus and distribution of resources to the district level (Pakistan. Government of, 2001). As the Musharraf government was replaced by the new political government of the Pakistan People's Party, the media reports suggests that this devolution plan is likely to be significantly altered if not abandoned entirely.

Winkler and Hatfield (2002, p. 3) note that devolution of the public education sector in Pakistan was 'not a response by the education authorities to widespread dissatisfaction with the performance of the existing system', rather an initiative of the federal government to launch a fully fledged restructuring. The reform particularly in the education sector focused on dismantling the centrally controlled system and installing a decentralised governance mechanism to ensure efficiency and institutional autonomy at local level (Memon, 2003). This devolution plan, as designed by the National Reconstruction Board (NRB), involved fiscal decentralization and civil services decentralization. The plan envisaged local autonomy which would ensure system efficiency. However, due to insufficient

⁹ Tehsil refers to administrative geography, districts are sub-divided into *tehsils*.

capacity at local levels serious doubts arose about the successful functioning of the system (Ali et al., 2006).

5.7 Financing of education

Neoliberal globalisation encourages the incorporation of everyone in education as lifelong learners; however, and apparently paradoxically, it encourages states to do this while cutting down on public expenditure. Educational financing is a critical challenge for the state within the forces of globalisation. The knowledge economy demands investment in education and particularly higher education; however, the same globalisation forces simultaneously demand cost cutting, minimum government and cost recovery for educational provision. In the developed countries education up to secondary level is mainly provided by the state, while higher education is becoming increasingly privately funded (Orivel, 2002).

In the developing countries the discussion of educational financing is quite complex. It requires at least the discussion of aid, IMF and World Bank sponsored structural adjustment programmes and poverty reduction strategies. Educational financing in developing countries is highly dependent on aid provision by donor agencies (King, 1991). This donor financing of aid is often linked to broad global educational priorities for the developing countries that involve a focus on primary education, equitable access for the whole population, the linking of education with poverty reduction and achievement of the millennium development goals (MDGs) (see for example Department for International Development, 2005). Donor agencies are quite influential in Pakistani education policy. They act as advisers, financiers, discourse builders and civil society promoters (Ali, 2008). They are thus able to determine educational policy direction. The education sector reforms launched in Pakistan in 2001 and the subsequent development of a poverty reduction strategy as required by the World Bank make a clear link of education with poverty and achievement of the EFA goals and MDGs.

There is also a noticeable trend towards privatisation of education provision in Pakistan. The current education census suggests that around 33% of educational provision is in the hands of private institutions and the percentage is increasing (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2006). The government is encouraging innovative means to attract private involvement in public education provision, in addition to direct private provision. For this purpose at federal and provincial levels 'Education Foundations' are established that encourage privatisation. Examples of these innovations include the 'Adopt-a-school' programme of the Sindh Education Foundation and support for private schools by the Punjab Education Foundation (A. B. Malik, 2007).

To recap, in this section I have outlined some of the prominent features of the global education policy field alongside consideration of their prevalence in the Pakistani context. I suggest that under the influence of neo-liberal globalisation the role of education is directly linked to the economic functions of the knowledge economy. On the global scale there is dominance of particular educational policy prescriptions, and these are taking a particular form in the Pakistani context. Despite this national specificity, it is clear that these elements of global education policy field set limits for national education policy authority. These limits are both material and discursive. Material limits are set, for example, through the control of educational finance by donors. The limiting effects on the SoA of discourse are quite significant, as certain forms of provision and educational governance take on the appearance of unassailable 'common sense' prescriptions.

6 Effects of globalisation on national sphere of policy authority

In this section I focus in more depth on the way globalisation affects the policy making authority of nation states and how governance is carried out particularly in the field of education.

Rosenau (2000) provides the following approach to understanding the role, authority and restructuring of the modern nation state. He makes a distinction between 'government' and 'governance' to highlight the difference between traditional and contemporary forms of state authority:

'Government suggests activities that are backed by formal authority ... whereas governance refers to activities backed by shared goals that may or may not derive from legal and formally prescribed responsibilities' (Rosenau, 2000, p. 4).

This shift, which is often referred to as a movement 'from government to governance' also requires an ontological reconceptualisation of global governance (Rosenau, 1999). According to this new conceptualisation the global space is occupied by various 'spheres of authority' (SoAs) rather than territorial nation states. The concept of Spheres of Authority allows for a flexible conception of national and global authority, which nicely captures the complex reality of present nation states and global governance structures (Murphy, 2000). Thus a sphere of authority comprises of the state along with various other entities (sub-state and supra-state) that share the same space and work in a flexible way towards achieving national objectives as well as meeting global considerations. In less developed states with little significance in global politics and economics the SoA may equate with the territorial nation state and the government may still enjoy absolute authority. However, for a majority of the states there is significant shift in the way the state conducts itself at various levels of governance due to globalisation (see Kettl, 2000).

So, what is the nature of authority of present states and how do they govern? I noted earlier in the chapter that the authority of the state has become diffused within multilayered governance structures involving sub-state and supra-state networks, regulations and actors (Held et al., 1999). Globalisation has created new problems and new opportunities that are being tackled by novel instruments, often involving non-official partners to the states. Scholte (2000) suggests two major ways in which new governance structures operate: multilayered and with private involvement. Following Scholte (2000) it can be argued that the present governance structure of

the state is based on 'distributed authority': that is state authority is shared by sub-state and supra-state political authorities. Likewise the state authority is shared with private and non-governmental authorities.

There is evidence of the distribution of state authority to supra-state and sub-state governance structures. Since the 1990s there is a growing trend across the globe to devolved political structures. Thus we witness the shifting of political authority at more local level to provincial and district levels. Devolved and decentralised states are considered the most responsible and efficient governing structures (McGinn & Welsh, 1999). At the same time, as noted earlier, there is a growth of regional cooperation among various states (in such forums as the OECD, ASEAN, SAARC, NAFTA, the Arab League, and the African Union). The states are not only linked up with regional but also with global governance structures like the UN and its various agencies: World Bank, IMF, ILO, UNESCO, and UNDP.

The second major shift in the state's political authority is the involvement of private and particularly non-governmental organisations in public policy and its delivery both at national, regional and supra-state levels (M. Carnoy, 2006). Under the influence of neo-liberal globalisation the global trend is towards delegating states' public functions to the private and non-governmental organisations. This trend has led to an enormous growth of non-governmental organisations and private bodies that perform various public welfare functions for example the delivery of health services and looking after the vulnerable population (Kettl, 2000). Not only the private and non-government agencies share state authority at national and sub-state level, they also join up states in supra-state governance structures like in the UN agencies and World Economic Forum.

Utilising Rosenau's thesis (1999) we can argue that the Sphere of Authority (SoA) of nation states is now distributed among sub-state, regional and supra-state political authorities. Likewise the involvement of private and non-government agencies also indicates the distribution of state authority at various levels. The changes in the

sphere of authority of the state also signal changes the way state govern its various sectors including education, to which we now turn.

The distributed policy authority is visible within the structures that govern education systems. Under the New Public Management norms of steering rather than rowing and governing rather than micro managing are being globalised (Peters et al., 2000). The norms of the corporate sector are being applied to educational governance, thus there is growing devolution of management to local levels. There is increased privatisation of education either through wholly private structures or through public private partnerships (Ball, 2007; Whitty, 1997). This devolution has been accompanied by calls for tighter control over curriculum standards, teachers' performance and students' achievement (Apple, 2000; Morrow & Torres, 2000).

The shift towards devolved structures is accompanied by the necessary growth in the gathering and use of data as a policy technology of governance (Ozga, 2009). Performance indicators are utilised as tools for governing education down to the school level. Data become a form of governance, and comparison a key governing practice at transnational and national levels (Grek, Lawn, Lingard, & Varjo, 2009; Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003). Increasingly there is a trend of global comparability of these statistics, for example the OECD's organised TIMSS and PISA scores is one such phenomenon. In the developing world there is also a growth of data production and the use of comparison, for example performance on the Human Development Index by UNDP and performance on EFA goals by UNESCO. Pakistani government members and academics are quick to reference these scores in their educational discourses, which provide them statistics that adds to their rhetoric.

The growth of interest in comparison as 'spectacle' (Novoa & Yariv-Mashal, 2003, p. 427) connects to the growing role of the media in education policy. Policy has to appear sober to media gurus who can attest its viability; lesser attention is paid to make it meaningful and practical for the street level bureaucrats who will implement it (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004). This may result in policy becoming more rhetoric than action and thus, though, we can see much convergence in rhetoric there is little in

practice (Green, 1999). Hence the media appearance of policy is more important to education ministers than the actual policy. During the Nawaz Sharif's second term as Prime Minister, he personally oversaw the development of policy and important media coverage was provided to show the government's intentions for improving education sector (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1998).

Accompanying these shifts in governance and related to them is the employment of discursive resources by states and other global forces for exerting or resisting authority. Fairclough (2006) argues that there is a significant turn towards attention to language as a key discursive resource in the state's repertoire of governance technologies. He notes that a significant element of globalisation is established through utilisation of language resources, thus the existence of the 'knowledge economy' must, he suggest be first understood as discourse. Realising the importance of language resources, the state is also utilising language as a technology to establish, support or challenge certain discourses. The utilisation of language resources by former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair is often quoted as a prime example of this mobilisation of language (see Fairclough, 2000).

Rosenau argues that states are still 'sovereign in a number of ways; but ... some of their authority has been relocated toward sub-national [and supra-national] collectivities' (Rosenau, 2000, p. 3, parentheses added). Education policy making remains a state function, however it now involves new and varied actors and is embedded within multiple layers of governance. In response to this changed context of policy in a globalising world, Deacon, Hulse and Stubbs (1997, p. 9) encourage us to revisit the traditional framework of policy analysis that is confined within the state's territorial space and embark on a project of 'globalization of social policy'. This would require combining 'the intellectual resources of social policy analysis ... with those active in development studies' (p. 9). The resultant analytical framework should focus on 'the emergence of a global social policy between nations (transnational redistribution, regulation and provision) and the intervention in national social policy of global supranational agencies' (p. 10).

The reconfigured state authority requires new technologies of governance and we noted that data, the media and discursive resources are some of the new governance technologies that states utilise for governing education policy in conditions of globalisation. However, it is naïve to assume that all states employ these resources equally skilfully. This requires us to consider the resources on which the ability of the state depends in dealing with global pressures or to put it another way: what determines the state's national capital.

7 National capital and national sphere of authority

It is noted that a coherent set of global education policy priorities is emerging. However, the effects of these developments on any particular state will vary significantly based on the specificity of that state and on their unique 'national capital'. In fact, the policy implementation literature further suggests that synoptic policies cannot have desired outcomes at the level of action (Spillane et al., 2002), and if we perceive globalisation as a synoptic policy move, its implementation varies at local national levels. Thus the apparent similarity in the processes of globalisation 'does not mean that they take the same form in all places' (Dale & Robertson, 2002).

The term 'national capital' was used by Bourdieu (2003) in relation to the global economic field. He suggests that various nations possess differing 'national capital' based on their economic, political, cultural and linguistic resources. He argued that the 'national capital' possessed by a state can positively or negatively affect any business based in that state. Lingard, Rawolle and Taylor (2005, p. 766) applied this notion of 'national capital' to education policy and argued that 'the amount of 'national capital' possessed by a given nation within these global fields [economic, governance and educational policy] is a determining factor in the spaces of resistance and degree of autonomy for policy development within the nation'.

The 'national capital' of developed and developing countries' varies significantly and thus so does their capability and authority to negotiate with global forces (Mann, 1997; Scholte, 2000). The more a country possesses social, economic and political

resources, the more national capital it accumulates. Thus the USA arguably possesses the highest amount of national capital; it has a strong economy, a well functioning society; a developed education system; and huge military might and political strength. This enormously increases the USA's capacity to not only negotiate positively in its national interest but also to lead and manoeuvre global policy. Henry et al. (2001) shows the powerful USA influence in the setting of the OECD's education indicators project against some strong opposition. In contrast with this, countries like Pakistan have very little national capital with their weak economic, political and social resources. It had little choice when joining USA led War on Terror in the aftermath of 9/11, which has further devastated its national capital, to the extent that despite all the encouragement that Pakistan gets for fighting the War on Terror it could not muster enough funds to support its faltering economy and had to resort to IMF for a bailout plan in November 2008.

8 Conclusion

This chapter considers globalisation and its effects on the policy authority of the state particularly in the field of education. The four dimensions of globalisation – economic, political, cultural and strategic were discussed in detail. It is noted that the present form of globalisation is dominated by the neo-liberal policy preferences that favour the supremacy of markets over social welfare and private over public provision. It is accepted that Globalisation has led to the emergence of global education policy field. This field constructs a discursive frame around national policy legitimising some and excluding other policy options. The policy authority of the state is found to have been challenged in fundamental ways. Within this changed environment, the education system is governed quite differently through the employment of new technologies of educational governance: through performance statistics, through the involvement of various stakeholders in policy processes, and through employing discursive resources.

Yet there remains some uncertainty about the precise mechanisms (Dale, 1999) through which global pressures are exerted on national policy making, beyond the

key ‘headlines’ of changing governance and financial controls. At the same time, there is also uncertainty about how so-called ‘national capital’ is deployed, and how this enables the state’s sphere of authority to be strengthened. There is a need for more attention to the mechanisms of global pressure and national mediation, particularly the significance of discourse as a new governing resource, and this challenge will be taken up in the next chapter, which will draw upon the theoretical resources developed in this chapter to formulate appropriate an methodology for empirically investigating the sphere of authority of Pakistani government in its education policy making.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology – Understanding Policy

In this chapter I move from setting out my theoretical understanding of the framing of the issue of Pakistan's sphere of authority (SoA) in education policy to outlining my ontological, epistemological and methodological position in order to explain and illustrate the relationship between the ways in which I approach the SoA and my empirical investigation of the topic. This obliges me to consider and discuss the relationship between theoretical framing and empirical investigation. My preoccupation in detailing the contextual framing and theoretical resources in chapters two and three has been with exploring the limits and conditions of Pakistan's SoA in education policy making so as to place the SoA of Pakistan within a perspective that draws attention to constraints and pressures on external and internal features of the policy landscape.

In this chapter I first set out my research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This is necessary, as the ontological and epistemological position of a researcher has a bearing on his/her methodological considerations and choice of research methods (L. Cohen et al., 2001). Most social science research is associated implicitly or explicitly with one of the dominant paradigms, for example positivism, interpretivism or critical theory, and this obviously affects the way a researcher looks at the problem and goes about researching it. The theoretical understandings developed and discussed in chapters two and three have already implicitly described my stance in relation to the research problem, which will be further explicated here.

Chapters three makes it evident that I am utilising the conception of spheres of authority as proposed by Rosenau (2000) to understand the reconfiguration of state authority due to globalisation and the emergence of new patterns of governance. I have located the problem of SoA within a theoretical framework of tension between the nation state and the global power. Thus my focus is on exploring the relative dependence or independence of the Pakistani government in determining its education policy while dealing with the influence of powerful external forces. The

framing of the research problem in this way connects me to the ontological and epistemological position of critical theory, in that I see the world as defined by power relations among various groups and agents. These agents draw upon various discursive and material resources to maintain their hegemony. Thus understanding the power relations among various policy actors is a major focus of my empirical investigation and will enable understanding about the SoA of the government of Pakistan as exemplified in the White Paper. This approach is also congruent with a broad perspective on policy that can be described as 'policy sociology' (Ball, 1997; Ozga, 2000). The policy sociology approach is not concerned with the delivery or efficiency of policy, which are of primary importance in the policy science tradition (Ball, 1997). The policy sociology approach foregrounds context and history, and seeks to understand why and how an issue is problematised (Ozga, 2000). The policy sociology tradition accepts the position of critical theory that policy problems are not 'out there' to be solved; rather the interest lies in understanding how an issue becomes a 'problem' and how and why it appears on government agendas. In exploring these issues, a key concern is to analyse the relationship between the distribution of power and the construction of a 'problem', as well as the ways in which the problem is addressed-what is ruled in and what is ruled out (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994).

Critical Discourse analysis (CDA), with its focus on revealing power relations, is an appropriate and useful resource for the investigation of policy within a critical policy sociology approach. Here I am applying its theoretical and methodological resources to analysis of the power struggles surrounding the production of the White Paper. The policy texts mobilise resources that are embedded in historical, political and power struggles played out over time between different actors in policy making. Interviews with policy actors provide insights into the policy process, the role played by actors and the influence that they bring. Through the production of various policy related texts and their speech acts (for example during consultations) various policy actors construct, support or oppose certain discourses. Dominant discourses have material as well as discursive effects; they not only shape the construction of a policy problem but also its solution (Ball, 2008). The analytical resources of Critical

Discourse Analysis (CDA) as developed by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003) are utilised here to analyse policy texts along with interviews. CDA helps us probe the texts in multiple ways – linguistically, discursively and structurally, to see the way the language of policy reflects and affects the power struggles that shape the policy. I discuss this further in a later section.

At this point I elaborate briefly on my research paradigm. I then move to a discussion of my theoretical resources, and in doing so I draw on chapters two and three before elaborating on the methodological resources offered by CDA. The later part of the chapter gives details of the data sources, and of the challenges faced in the field, included ethical challenges and issues relating to the complexity of the analysis.

1 The Research paradigm

Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 105) define paradigm as ‘the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways’. Paradigms are based on our ontological and epistemological assumptions about ‘reality’, they shape the way we perceive and know the world around us. Usher (1996) argues that ‘all research is based on an epistemology even though this is not always made explicit’ (p. 11) and that ignorance of this leads to research being considered only as: ‘‘technology’ as simply a set of methods, skills and procedures applied to a defined research problem’ (p. 10). In response to this observation, I will make my epistemological position explicit. I focus on ontology and epistemology in this section and turn to methodology later.

Ontology is about ‘what exists, what is the nature of the world, what is reality’, while *epistemology* is concerned with ‘what distinguishes different kinds of knowledge claims – specifically with what the criteria are that allow distinctions between ‘knowledge’ and non-knowledge’ to be made’ (Usher, 1996, p. 11). Epistemology provides the basis on which knowledge claims may be justified and adjudicates among them. Epistemological and ontological questions are interconnected as what

can be known (epistemology) depends on our assumptions about what exists (ontology); likewise the nature and form of what exists (ontology) determines the way it can be known (epistemology) (Usher, 1996). Together, epistemology and ontology shape the research paradigm with which one defines and investigates the research problem.

There are three broad paradigms that may be said to currently dominate social science research – positivism, interpretivism and critical theory. In addition, there are also other research paradigms like constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), post-modernism (Usher, 1996) and feminism (L. Cohen et al., 2001). However there is a degree of overlap among certain paradigms, for example between constructivism and interpretivism, and between critical theory and feminism (Esterberg, 2002). I will limit the discussion to the three broad paradigms mentioned earlier. The discussion is limited to basic distinctions between the paradigms and does not deal with variations within those paradigms.

The paradigm of positivism rests on the assumption that the social world is much like physical world. Positivists assume that the social world is governed by general laws and that social phenomena follow a cause and effect relationship. The social world is also considered as existing in an objective way independent of the perception of the knower/observer. Following these assumptions through leads to acceptance of the principle that human behaviour can also be controlled through discovering and altering the overarching causal relationships (Esterberg, 2002; May, 1997). Thus adherents of the positivistic paradigm believe that for knowledge claims to be true research should follow systematic methods of observation and measurement, and the researcher should remain objective, unbiased and value neutral. There is great emphasis on the need for precision in instruments utilised to gain knowledge, which ensure the validity of knowledge. Such knowledge claims are then verifiable, following similar procedures by any independent researcher (May, 1997; Usher, 1996).

In contrast to positivism, the interpretivist paradigm assumes that reality does not exist in an objective and neutral form. The social world cannot be reduced to the law governing physical world, and social phenomena can only be understood through the subjective interpretation of the knower. Thus reality is subjective and depends on context and on the interaction of actors. Epistemologically, the interpretivist paradigm is based on the assumption that knowledge is created through the interaction of those involved in a social situation. This may be interaction among individuals or among individuals and cultural artefacts. Unlike positivism, here the emphasis is not on ensuring neutrality, objectivity and precision. Rather knowledge claims rest on the subjective interpretation of social reality and meaning making in the social situation that is close to the experience of those in that situation. There are no general laws and governing theories rather the emphasis lies in the contextual understanding of social world. Interpretivist researchers are interested with understanding a particular situation or context rather than the discovery of universal laws or rules (Esterberg, 2002; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Usher, 1996), though this does not mean that interpretive research is always bound to a specific context of incident.

The third major research paradigm that I have selected for discussion is ‘critical theory’, which is critical of both the positivist and interpretivist paradigms (L. Cohen et al., 2001; Usher, 1996). Critical theory rejects the positivist paradigm and its claims to objective and value free knowledge (Collins, 2003). It shares the interpretivist ontological and epistemological assumptions to the extent that reality does not exist independent of the knower and the social world does not follow universal laws similar to the physical world. Thus knowledge is always subjective depending on the knower and the context. But beyond that critical theory considers both positivistic and interpretivistic paradigms as ‘technicist’ in their focus on understanding the existing situation better rather than questioning or changing it towards a just system (L. Cohen et al., 2001, p. 29). Critical theory brings together subjective feelings and insights but within a framework of broader structural conditions that shape the situation and maintain power relationships (Esterberg, 2002). Critical theory seeks to reveal the ideologies – ‘the values and practices

emanating from particular dominant groups' (L. Cohen et al., 2001, p. 30) – through which the power structures and a hegemonic social order is maintained. Critical theory seeks to reveal the inequities of society through attention to both the structural features of society that sustain economic and political disparities and subjective experiences of inequality and exclusion so that critical theory joins both micro and macro level understanding. It sees micro group relations as reflecting macro structural conditions and relations of power (Blake & Masschelein, 2003; Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994).

Having briefly described these three major research paradigms I would like to discuss my orientation to the research reported here. Usher (1996) argues that as social researchers each of us is associated with one or the other paradigm whether or not we make this explicit. Seddon points to the necessity of the principle of choice in policy research (Seddon, 1996). I understand the social world as defined through the subjective experiences and perceptions of people but at the same time I believe that these subjective experiences are shaped by structural factors including economic, political and cultural inequities. However, it would be naïve to believe in an overly determined social world, where human actions are determined only through structural conditions, without attention to agency. Agency provides possibilities to question, disrupt and challenge existing power relations. Thus in developing this thesis, I understand the current global world as offering both constraints and opportunities. There are structural constraints imposed by the processes of globalisation particularly on the poor and post-colonial nations; however, the nation state still possesses agency to negotiate its own authority utilising its material and discursive resources. Despite the possibilities of national choice and independence, the hegemonic dominance of powerful nations over less powerful cannot be denied. Roger Dale (1999) illuminates this point in showing how the structural constraints of globalisation act differently in different national contexts utilising different mechanisms. Epistemologically, the understanding of both structure and agency calls for subjective understanding of human agency and possibility alongside structural understanding of constraints. An account of reality depicting this interactive

relationship between the structure and agency – the macro limitations and micro possibilities may offer a better understanding of reality.

2 Theoretical resources

Theories are our conceptual lens through which we see the world, understand it and if possible act on it. Theories reflect our research paradigms, our ontological and epistemological predispositions. Ozga (2000) encourages us to understand theory as something that we are engaged in routinely. She describes theories as ‘statements about how things connect, and how things come to happen as they do’ (p. 43).

Theory provides us with conceptual resources to understand and explain the world around us, and as such acts as ‘a set of possibilities for thinking with’ (Ball, 2006, pp. 1-2). The kinds of research questions that one raises and their conceptualisation is rooted in the theory, which subsequently guide the research methodology – the kind of data to be collected and the form of analysis to be carried out (Jupp & Norris, 1994). Thus methodological principles need to relate to theoretical orientations, and so to methods. The choice of method stems from the methodological approach, which, in turn, follows from the theoretical orientation. Methods cannot be regarded as simple tools to be deployed at will; they need to be consistent with the orientation to the ‘problem’ and to the ontological and epistemological choices that such an orientation brings with it.

In the context of education policy research, theories represent the researcher’s choices or orientation towards understanding social relations and attempt to understand a particular problem, which subsequently shape the researcher’s questions and methodology for investigating them. Seddon (1996) refers to the ‘principle of choice’ that is behind any social research, which needs to be revealed for a more engaged policy research. Such revealing of principle of choice involves:

‘an elaboration of the principles which guide our selections of research resources; a clarification of what counts as principled research practice in our appropriation of those resources and in the formation of conceptual

frameworks; and the justification of those principles and processes of intellectual work.’ (p. 199)

Thus theory and methodology are interconnected just as are paradigm and theory. Theory is also our conceptual guide to explain and understand the research findings, which in turn can affect our theorising and may perhaps challenge the research paradigm (May, 1997).

The theoretical framework for this research is mainly elaborated in chapter three but also reflected in chapter two. In this section I wish to remind the reader of the theoretical framework that is reflected through the choice of literature and issues dealt with in chapters two and three. I also explain the methodological implications that this theorisation brings with it, that is, the form of inquiry and the way of interpreting evidence. I am cautious here not to be blinded by the theory but use it as guide and resources to think through and open for negotiation, following the advice by Ozga (2000) and Ball (2006).

At this point it is worth recalling the research questions set out at the beginning in chapter one. These are:

What does the recent review of education policy, contained in the White Paper, tell us about the SoA of Pakistan in making its education policy?

What evidence is there of tension between national and global interests in this process?

By what means does the government of Pakistan attempt to manage such tensions?

Which factors support, and which reduce the independent action of the government of Pakistan?

My contextual theorisation, as contained in chapter two, suggests that understanding the relative authority of the Pakistani government in making its education policy needs to be looked through three lenses: political and ideological; human and financial resource constraints; colonial and historical. Taking a historical view the contextual theorisation of chapter two suggests that the SoA of government appears to be constrained by: weak political institutions; confused ideology; financial dependence; weak human resource; colonial and historical legacies.

Building on this perspective, in chapter 3 I draw on the theoretical literature on globalisation to suggest that the state authority is seriously challenged by the processes of globalisation. Within the domain of education policy we are witnessing an emergent global education policy field with its preferred prescriptions. Thus the national sphere of authority of any nation state in deciding its education policy is dependant upon its interaction with global education policy field. It is also suggested that weaker states (with weak national capital) like Pakistan face more challenges from global policy prescriptions in comparison with stronger states.

The critical theory paradigm that I am working with helps me to theorise the social world as comprising various authoritative spheres some of which represent nations, while others represent international and national organisations. The SoA of the nation has to be understood in the context of its relative positioning within this constellation of various spheres of authority (see Figure 1). This can be illustrated diagrammatically (note that the dotted lines symbolise the porous nature of these spheres of authority).



Figure 1: Constellation of spheres of authority around nation state

This theorisation is in the policy sociology tradition that stands in opposition to the policy science tradition and is exemplified in the following table by Ball (1997, p. 264):

Table 2: Policy sociology versus policy science

Policy scholarship [sociology]	Policy science
a. Design and scope	
Policy oriented	Practice oriented
Multi-focus	Single focus
Multi-level	Single level
Temporal	Atemporal
Global/local	National/general
Linked focus	Detached

b. Embeddedness

Context rich

Context barren

Conceptually 'thick'

Conceptually 'thin'

c. An ethics of research

Social justice

Social efficiency

Critical

Conceptually 'thin'

d. Peopling policy

Voiced

Silent

By exploring the two traditions, I hope to clarify my particular choices. The policy science tradition takes a conventional and limited idea of 'science' in conceptualising policy problems. Policy research in this project is aimed at 'objectively' analysing a given policy problem which is treated as a 'natural' phenomenon and proposing solutions through technical and rational approaches. The focus of research is more on suggesting improvements in the policy delivery (or its implementation) rather than enquiring into the process through which an issue is defined as a 'problem' placed on an agenda and the focus of different 'solutions' questioning the coming about of policy itself.

Contrary to this view policy sociology is 'rooted in the social science tradition, historically informed and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques' (Ozga, 1987, p. 144). The focus of research within this tradition is more on understanding what policy is, and what it represents – the shaping of policy. The essence of a policy sociology approach is that it is concerned with the relationship between policy making and the wider political and social contexts in which it is embedded. It is interested in exploring the nature of a particular policy problem, how it gets defined, how it is put on agenda and how it is addressed; and in doing so which policy actors are consulted, which texts are drawn upon and how settlements are achieved. A concern for social justice and revealing power struggle is one of its primary characteristics.

It should be apparent that the nature of research questions and my theorising are rooted within the policy sociology research tradition. The adoption of the policy sociology approach foregrounds certain issues, like the power relations, context and its effects, and the need to view policy making as a struggle between various policy actors (global and national) to maintain their positions.

3 Methodological resources

There is often a confusion between thinking about methodology and methods, therefore, Sikes (2004) suggests that we should think of methodological work as philosophical work where we think and make research choices about the data or evidence to be gathered, procedures to be followed and ethical challenges to be considered. The choices of research paradigm and theoretical resources influence the methodological decisions about the choice and conduct of research methods. Ozga (2000) highlights that policy research requires making choices, which are informed by our epistemological and theoretical orientations. The important thing is to be explicit about these choices. Following this guidance, I would now try to recapture the choices that I have made so far and see what implications this bring for the choice of methodological resources that I need to make.

I have chosen to work within the critical theory paradigm. This choice reflects my theorisation of the issue of the SoA of the Pakistani state, which is being conceptualised as constrained within structural and discursive limitations associated with the processes of globalisation. Education policy in Pakistan is being shaped within the global education policy field. This encourages exploration of the broad social, political and historical context which affects the construction of the policy problem and also its solution.

I develop this approach in examining the education policy review of Pakistan represented in the White Paper as a site where these structural limitations and power struggles can be studied. The White Paper as a product of the review process also

provides resources for the interpretation and analysis of the discursive, structural and political struggles among various groups shaping the policy outcomes. At this point I find the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of immense use. The version of CDA developed by Fairclough is particularly relevant here. Fairclough (1989) sees language as social practice – in other words ‘language as discourse’. Language analysis as discourse analysis reflects not only the apparent textual meanings but also represents the production process, social conditions and the power structures that are contained in the text and that also create discursive effects. CDA provides methodological resources that allow me to look at the White Paper policy text situated within discursive and structural conditions and also representing the production process. The advantage of CDA is that it combines both the textually oriented discourse analysis with socially oriented discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992). I will elaborate the methodological resources of the CDA in the next section in detail.

4 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA provides methodological and analytical resources for approaching texts discursively and for understanding how a particular text (in this case the White Paper) is shaped linguistically, and how the surrounding texts and actors affect the shape of this central text. This micro analysis is connected to broad structural and ideological issues to see what discourses of power are drawn upon in the text that dominate and hegemonise policy (van Dijk, 2001).

Fairclough combines text based and socially based, mainly Foucauldian discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992, 2003, pp. 5-6). The text based discourse analysis focuses mainly on the linguistic features of the text, while socially based discourse analysis (Foucauldian) mainly looks at the social features of particular texts and statements and how they construct the field of practice and social structures (Danaher et al., 2000). Fairclough combines the micro level linguistic analysis with macro level socio-political analysis in his approach to CDA. This research deals with a particular text (White Paper) but tries to understand this in light of broad socio-political

developments at a global scale to explore the SoA for national level policy decision making.

Fairclough also suggests that his framework of CDA should not be followed rigidly, that it should be adapted to the needs of the research and can also be combined with other frameworks (Fairclough, 2001). Indeed Fairclough's approach to the framework of CDA has developed over a period of time (Taylor, 2004). Thus the CDA framework will be adapted for this research in line with the theoretical framework discussed earlier and the tradition of policy sociology.

Before we move to discussion of Fairclough's model of CDA, it is worth considering the idea of discourse itself. 'Discourse' carries different meanings in our general usage and in academic usage; even in academia the meaning is a somewhat slippery. This fact is clear from the views of its most influential thinker – Foucault, who says

'Instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements.' (Foucault, 1972, p. 80)

This quote captures both the difficulty and the promise in dealing with the idea of discourse. Jowarski & Coupland (1999, p. 3) offer a useful definition:

'Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society.'

Further clarification is offered by Fairclough (2003, p. 124)

'I see discourse as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental

world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world Different discourses are different perspectives on the world Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible world which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions.'

A somewhat simpler and more language-oriented understanding of discourse is available in Fairclough's earlier work where he states that discourse is 'language as social practice determined by social structures' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 17). This suggests that language is not simply an act of communication but a 'form of social practice' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22). This understanding has at least three implications: 'Firstly, that language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Secondly, that language is a social process. And thirdly, that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society' (p. 22).

Fairclough (1992, also 2003) suggests that there is a major division between the two forms of discourse analysis, that is between the textually oriented and more socio-politically oriented forms of discourse analysis. The latter approach had developed from the work of Foucault and focuses on social aspects of language avoiding its textual features. Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003) has attempted to combine social and textual analysis of language through his model of CDA. In his own words, he attempts:

'... to bring together linguistically-oriented discourse analysis and social and political thought relevant to discourse and language, in the form of a framework which will be suitable for use in social scientific research, and specifically in the study of social change.' (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62)

Explaining his model of CDA, Fairclough (1992) suggests that 'texts' are embedded within three frameworks, which he calls the 'three-dimensional conception of discourse'. These dimensions can be thought of as layers that constrain the production and meaning of a particular text. The first dimension is the construction

of language itself and how it makes certain ways of shaping language possible. The second dimension is the way the text is produced, distributed and consumed and how it shapes the meaning of that particular text in this process. The third dimension refers to the broader social structures (social, political and economic) and the way the dominant class exerts power over society and how language is used to allow or limit certain textual constructions to maintain or change the power structure. This explains how ideology works through discursive practices to maintain/restructure power. Graphically, his three dimensional conception of CDA is represented as follows (see Figure 2):

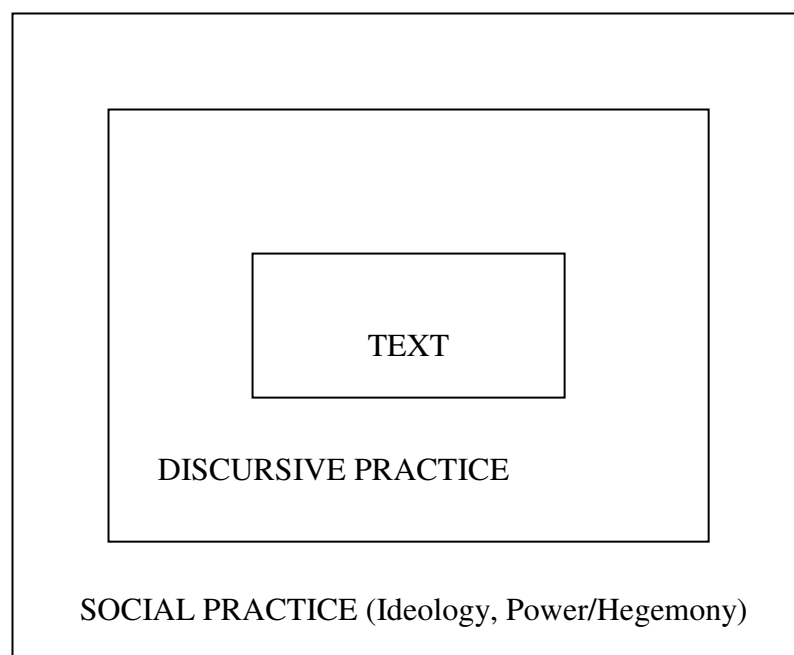


Figure 2: Three-dimensional conception of discourse (from Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

Drawing on Fairclough (1992) and for the purpose of this research, I understand that the central policy text (White Paper) is shaped by 1) linguistics, 2) context of production/practice and 3) broader social structure. Thus his model can be understood in the following way in the context of my research (see Figure 3):

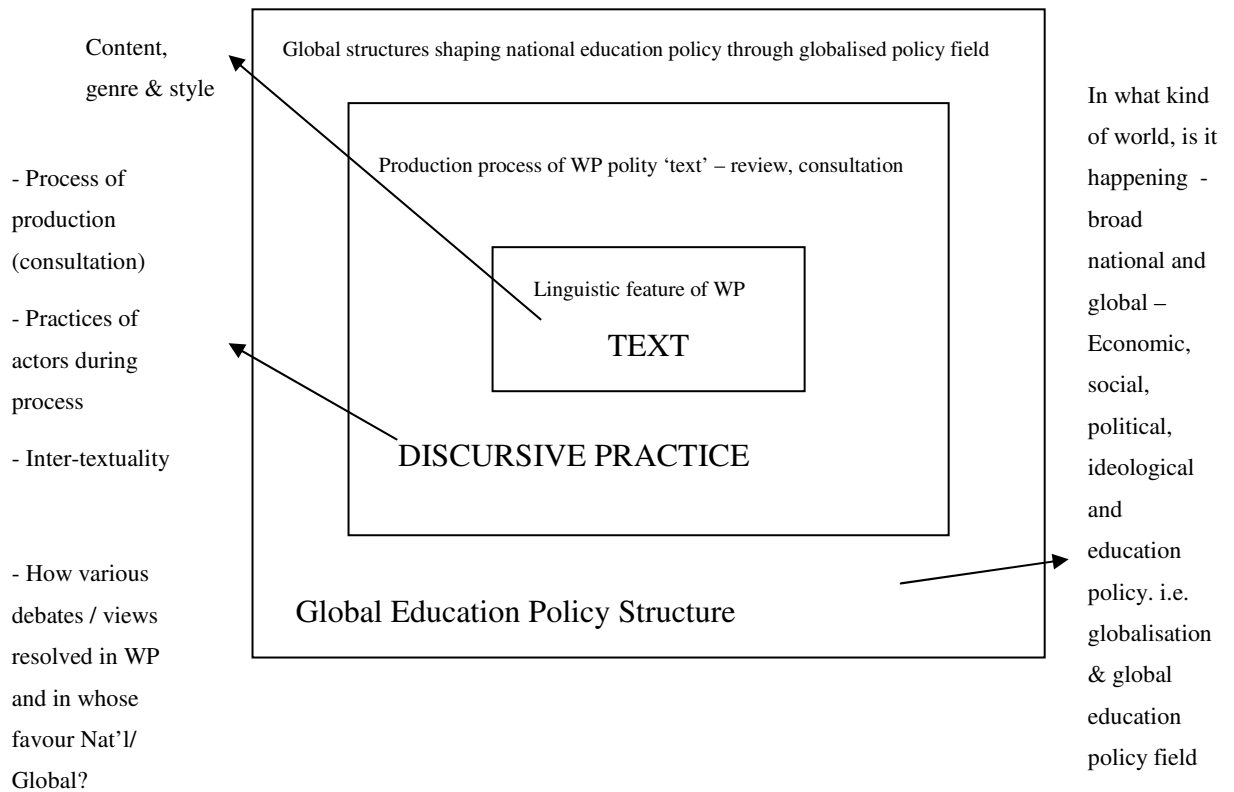


Figure 3: Analytical framework for policy analysis (adapted from Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

The above conceptualisation suggests that the text of White Paper is embedded within three-layered discursive frame. The language of the text (White Paper) represents the discourse and the struggle over power, which illuminates the SoA of the government of Pakistan as represented through the White Paper text and the background to the review process. Drawing on Fairclough (1989, 1992 and 2003) the data resources (policy text and interviews) are analysed and presented in the following fashion. It should be noted that the analytical framework developed below moves from micro to macro level analysis – from linguistic to discursive to structural analysis.

1. Linguistic Analysis of the content of the White Paper

The linguistic analysis of the White Paper text looks at the way language represents the SoA of the national government. It analyses the following linguistic features to

ascertain the various ways the government uses language to exert authority, manage tensions and create a regime of truth:

- a. Style – the stylistic features of the White Paper’s text, its structure, layout and design to see if this policy text follows some globally influenced trends or a style of its own.
- b. Genre – the way the language is enacted in the White Paper text, its sophistication and grammatical mood. This shows the use of language in managing tensions between the global and national, and how the policy establishes particular facts by using language in a particular mood.
- c. Assumed readership – here the readership that White Paper assumes at various parts of the White Paper is considered, along with the selection of issues the White Paper addresses to various readers and what message it delivers to them. Is it accepting a global prescription or rejecting it or proposing a compromise?
- d. Source of language authority – here we seek to establish various sources of authority – national and global – that are used in the White Paper and for which issues. This reveals the SoA of national and global within various policy matters.

2. Discursive Analysis of Policy Review Process and White Paper production

The discursive analysis of the policy review process focuses on the development of the White Paper as a policy text. This analysis focuses on the processes that were organised, the policy actors who were consulted, the various agendas that they brought and the final policy outcome. This analysis will be used to respond to the research questions in the structural analysis by revealing the tensions between national and global and the steering of policy process by the government.

The discursive analysis of the policy review process is carried out under following three major categories.

- a. Process of production – the discursive analysis here firstly tries to capture the process and its various stages that were put in place to conduct the policy review. More importantly it looks at the various forums that were utilised for the consultation and what they tried to achieve. In a way the consultative process itself represents the global influence on policy production process, which needs to appear to be participatory and consultative.
- b. Practices of policy actors – the discursive analysis here relies mainly on the interviews and discussion with various policy actors along with their written contributions during the policy review process. The analysis looks at the important policy actors and their participation in the consultation process. This helps us to understand the way the global influence operates at a national policy level through various policy actors.
- c. Inter-textuality – the discursive analysis here focuses on various policy texts that surround the policy review process and the White Paper. First of all the White Paper itself was revised, hence offering the opportunity to compare the two versions. Fairclough (1989) suggests that texts are active participants in a policy environment. Various texts refer to each other directly and indirectly and in doing so create a discursive framework. Two sets of texts are considered here in relation to the White Paper, firstly, a collection of national contemporary policy texts and secondly, a collection of contemporary international texts. This analysis reveals the interaction of national and international spheres of authority and presents the White Paper as the text that symbolises the national SoA of the Pakistani government.

3. Structural Analysis to respond to the research questions directly

After conducting the linguistic and discursive analysis, the final structural analysis draws from the two sets of analyses to answer the research questions. The structural analysis will reveal the extent to which the national education policy is influenced by the global or national policy priorities and what resources do the national policy utilises to exert its sphere of authority.

I now describe the data resources that are being utilised in this research. This is followed by the descriptions of actual data collection, field process, challenges and finally the analysis.

5 Data resources

I am concerned mainly with two types of data resources: policy texts and interviews with policy actors.

The formal data collection period was three months in Pakistan between December 2007 and February 2008. However the data were also collected at later opportunities, particularly through internet searching. Two of the interviews took place during an international conference where the delegates came from Pakistan and were relevant to the research.

5.1 Policy texts

I selected a single formal policy text as the central data source for analysis, which is then analysed discursively in relation to various texts. The education policy review process started in September 2005 and it was expected that a formal policy would emerge in the later part of 2006 or early 2007. At the outset of this research I hoped to select the final policy text as the central text of analysis. However, because of the dissolution of the policy review team after the publication of the White Paper which was followed by continuous political turmoil in the country, no final policy had emerged at the time of submitting the thesis. Thus I chose the White Paper as the central text for the research. The White Paper was a pre policy document that

resulted from a year long consultation by the policy review team. It was formally published and disseminated by the Ministry of Education and widely acknowledged as a significant document, which summarises the consultative work and the policy recommendations. The final policy is approved recently in 2009 by the government and it considers White Paper as providing the basis for the policy. In this sense, the White Paper stands as a significant policy text, which not only summarises the consultation process but also has implications for the subsequent education policy.

An extensive set of policy texts was collected during the field work in Pakistan and also through online sources. Some texts were identified by interview participants and others were collected from Ministry of Education's library and other university libraries in Pakistan. The inclusive rather than selective approach to data collection was adopted following Ball's (1993) advice that a particular text does not alter the existing situation; rather it intervenes into an existing scene and acts on and is acted-upon. Thus all possible texts surrounding the central texts, or what Ball (1993) calls 'policy ensembles' were collected. In addition the distance between the researcher and the research field (UK and Pakistan) convinced me to collect more rather than less. The various texts are categorised under broad headings which roughly indicate their nature in relation to the overall policy review process:

Core education policy review documents

1. White Paper (central policy text)
2. Green Papers
3. Thematic Papers
4. Draft National Education policy (various versions)
5. National consultation documents by NEPR team

Feedback to education policy review¹⁰

1. Social Development and Policy Institute (SDPI) conducted citizens' review for policy

¹⁰ Identity blacked out to ensure anonymity except the ones in public domain

2. ■■■ response (Feedback 1)
3. ■■■ response (Feedback 2)
4. ■■■ response (Feedback 3)
5. ■■■ group response (Feedback 4)
6. Documents produced for UNESCO sponsored roundtables

Policy reports by the Ministry of Education

1. Education Sector Reforms – Action Plan (2001 - 2006) (ESR)
2. Reforms: Education Sector 2004-2007
3. National Plan of Action on Education For All (2001-215)
4. National textbook and learning materials policy and plan of action (2007)
5. Directory of donors' assistance for Pakistan education sector (2008)

Government of Pakistan's planning and policy documents

1. Pakistan in the 21st Century: Vision 2030
2. Medium Term Development Framework MTDF (2005-2010)
3. Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)
4. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Progress Report
5. The SBNP Local Government Ordinance 2001

International Organisations' strategy papers for Pakistan

1. DFID – Country Assistance Plan for Pakistan 2005-2007
2. World Bank – Country Assistance Strategy for Pakistan, 2006
3. JICA – Country strategy paper for Pakistan
4. SC-UK – Education strategy for Pakistan
5. USAID – Pakistan Interim Strategic Plan 2003-2006
6. UN – Logical Framework Matrix – Joint UN Programme in Education, 2008
7. EC – Pakistan Country Strategy Paper 2002-2006

Past education policies

1. Education policies, commission reports and conference proceedings produced in the years: 1998, 1992, 1979, 1972, 1970, 1959, 1951, and 1947

2. Past five-year plans (Education) – 1957, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1978, 1983, 1988, 1994

This very substantial list of documents was consulted selectively guided by the analytical framework and in light of the guiding research questions. Thus for example only the ‘education section’ of the various planning documents was consulted rather than the whole document.

5.2 Interviews with policy actors

The policy texts were supplemented by interviews and discussions with the key stakeholders who participated in the consultation for the policy review. Below is the final list of interviews and discussions carried out during the fieldwork.

Table 3: Details of interviews with various policy actors

Category of interviewee	No of interviews/ discussion
National Education Policy Review Team	5
Non Governmental Organisations	8
Academics	4
Donor Agencies	4
Federal Secretary of Education	1
International Non Governmental Organisations	3
Planning Commission	1
Total	26

The participants were selected through their involvement in the review process and through references to them by other interviewees. Although I had some initial policy actors identified for interview, like other researchers engaged in elite interviewing I was anxious about access (Kogan, 1994; Whitty & Edwards, 1994). The initial interviewees subsequently provided me with contacts for other useful policy actors

during the review process. Thus a kind of ‘snowball’ interview sample was generated. Most people referred to by others were contacted for subsequent appointments. Some of them were interviewed, others refused or were not available. The interviews took place in three cities: Islamabad, Lahore and Karachi. Two of the interviews were conducted during an international conference where I encountered two delegates from Pakistan who were important policy actors during the review process.

Before entering into formal data collection, I took advice from some former colleagues in Pakistan about the situation on the ground and possible starting points. Based on this advice I prepared an initial list of possible interviewees and relevant documents. I formulated an open ended and unstructured interview schedule which was loosely followed depending on the interviewees, their involvement in the review process and the interview situation (see Appendix C). The semi structured interview guide is a more recommended research instrument (see Fitz & Halpin, 1994; Odendahl, 2002). As a research protocol I initially decided to meet more than once with key members of the policy team and other relevant members of the review. This was for two reasons; first I wanted to build a rapport before carrying out a formal interview. I managed to achieve this with some of the officials at the Ministry of Education, which proved extremely informative. This however could not be achieved with most of the other policy actors mainly because of time and availability of interviewees. I was dealing with so called policy elites and was mindful of the challenges this holds for interviewers in arranging access, interviewing them, and interpreting their voices (Ball, 1994c; Lilleker, 2003).

The use of the English language, the adoption of formal dress and a reference from Edinburgh University helped me arrange interviews in the Ministry of Education. I was also able to get access to the library of the Ministry of Education quite easily thanks to the same conditions. The help from some former colleagues in Pakistan was also considerable in scheduling interviews.

Initially I did not record the interviews following the advice of some colleagues in Pakistan and because of my own cautious approach. I assumed that people would be reluctant to talk openly if recorded. This proved to be largely mistaken: gradually I realised the people were willing to be recorded if they were assured of confidentiality. Some even wanted to be named. The official letter from the University of Edinburgh and research information sheets given to the interviewees were useful in this regard (see Appendix A). In fact I shared a somewhat similar experience to that of Gewirtz and Ozga (1994). Many of the interviewees did not object to my recording. Interestingly one interviewee refused recording not because of confidentiality reasons but because of her less skilful English (as a foreigner she did not speak Urdu either).

Most of the interviewees when contacted readily agreed to the interview. There were some challenges with high government officials and a particular interview was rescheduled twice and in the end did not take place. A contrast to this was a case where I wanted an interview appointment with a senior official of an INGO, who was initially hesitant but once started gave the longest interview (around 3 hours). Like Gewirtz and Ozga (1994) my interviewees presented long narratives and were very comfortable with the interview process. Although this does raise the concern of them being well rehearsed interviewees, who can easily produce a fluent and uncontroversial response. I tried to minimise this by probing, cross checking with other interviewees and finally from available documentary sources. Like Ball (1994b, p. 98) I also experienced that the interviewees who were 'out of office' were more revealing. In interviewing elites, particularly the high officials of education ministry, it was quite noticeable that they were using interviews as an opportunity to project a particular image of themselves and their institutions that they represented. These interviewees often talked in terms of their department and in official capacity, and hardly in their personal capacity (see Fitz & Halpin, 1994). In talking to a high official, I noticed that the official portrayed a sense of being 'in-charge' of the policy process without any worries of external pressures (for example of donors). This position obviously contrasted with the actual situation when we see that education department is highly dependant on international aid. Perhaps this is a discursive

strategy that official elites use to command authority even if they do not have it in actual practice.

The interview schedule and the focus of interviews were also developed and changed from the earlier version as the research developed and I was exposed to new material and information. One of the important strategies I developed was to be very well prepared for the interviews following the advice of Odendahl et al. (2002). There were several occasions during interviews when the interviewees referred to some piece of information or documents assuming that I already knew them. My earlier preparation to know as much as possible and my continuous engagement with the material I collected helped tremendously in this regard.

Upon my return from the field, I catalogued all the policy text material gathered during the fieldwork. The field notes were typed up and many interviews were transcribed for later analysis, while others were listened to and selectively transcribed.

6 Data analysis

Data analysis generally involves three broad procedures: organising data, immersion in the data and presenting the analysis (Creswell, 2003; Esterberg, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994). These procedures are not technical steps which if followed in particular order yield results; rather they need to be consistent with the researcher's epistemological and methodological positioning. Here I want to provide details of the conduct of the analysis.

I organised the textual materials (interviews and policy texts) into various categories that I set out above under the discussion of data resources. All the field notes were typed, several interviews were transcribed, interviews were saved in digital format and policy documents were catalogued. In addition I also made some electronic files to record the detail about interviews (participants name, organisation, date of

meeting, place of interview, date of transcription and additional comments). All the electronic files were kept in password protected computer to ensure confidentiality.

I then immersed myself in the data. Initially I looked at just few samples of different textual materials that I dealt with. The ‘making sense of data’ is a process where the research moves between methodological framework and data, both guiding and challenging each other. As my analytical framework began to clarify and my adapted framework of CDA emerged I moved on to begin an expanded analysis. The analytical framework that I detailed earlier encouraged me to look at my data in three dimensions: linguistic, discursive and structural. I will set out below the conduct of each stage of analysis for these dimensions or levels.

For the first dimension of linguistic analysis the focus remained on the White Paper text. The White Paper was coded for four categories: style, genre, readership and authority of language. In the first reading of the White Paper, its stylistic features as a unique policy document were noted keeping in mind the earlier education policy document. In the second reading attention was focused on the grammatical modes that were used in the language of the White Paper. In the third reading notes were taken about the possible readership that White Paper’s text assumed in its various sections. Finally, the White Paper was coded to note the kinds of authority that the language in White Paper draws upon in making different arguments or policy recommendations. This resulted in a 53 page long coding file. The coding process was followed by writing extensive analytical remarks based on the coding, Esterberg (2002) and Miles and Huberman (1994) calls this stage writing analytical memos. The analytical remarks were later refined and organised to present the findings on the first dimension of CDA of the White Paper (see chapter 5).

For analysing the data following the framework of CDA I focused on three major categories: the process of policy review; actors and their role in the review; and inter-textuality. For understanding the policy review process I looked at the White Paper appendix ‘Annex-I’ along with the website of the Ministry of Education that set out the process followed for the policy review. The interviews of the policy actors were

also coded to analyse this process in the light of the participants' comments. I also carried out an analysis of the process followed in past education policies of Pakistan. Subsequently, analytical remarks were made on the consultative process of the White Paper in relation to past education policies and in light of the experiences of the interviewed policy actors. Following from this, I coded the interviews of the policy actors and listened multiple times to the non-transcribed interviews to note their reactions and experiences to the current policy review process and to the White Paper. The written feedback that some interviewees shared with me was coded for similar features to produce analytical remarks about the reactions of policy actors. Lastly, I engaged in exhaustive analytical work under the heading of 'inter-textuality'. Fairclough (1992) suggests that policy texts respond to each other and constrain the construction of other texts. The extensive list of policy texts identified above (see heading 5.1 policy texts) was looked at in relation to the White Paper. As the first version of the White Paper was soon replaced by the revised version, the first analysis that I conducted was to see in detail what changed in the two drafts and speculate about the reasons for these changes. This process was followed by analysis of the White Paper in relation to 'contemporary national policy documents' and then in relation to 'contemporary international policy documents'. Attention was paid to how the White Paper refers to these documents, if it does so, and what discursive frame and constraints the other policy documents create for the White Paper. All the codes were later commented upon and resulted in analytical remarks. The findings as a result of this analysis are presented in chapter six.

The third dimension was carried out by pulling out the themes from the analysis of dimension 1 and 2 as presented in chapters five and six, and using them to respond to the research questions set in chapter one. The theoretical resources that were developed in chapters two and three were also brought into play here. This resulted in chapter seven, which concludes the research through commenting on the Sphere of Authority of Pakistan in education policy.

7 Field challenges and ethical concerns

The three months that I spent in the field were quite turbulent. There were times when I seriously considered postponing the field visit but there was no assurance that the situation would improve afterwards, so I carried on. The Musharraf government was quite troubled due to its mishandling of judiciary, opposition and religious extremists. The elections were announced and the interim government was put in charge of holding elections in February 2008. The unfortunate assassination of the former prime minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto on 27th December 2007 seriously jolted the whole country, violence broke out and elections were postponed.

This was the situation in which I carried out my fieldwork in Pakistan. Thus on many occasions I had to be opportunistic rather than idealistic. My research diary reflects the anxieties that I was going through during the fieldwork.

During the conduct of the research I remained attentive to ethical concerns arising from the issues of confidentiality and informed consent (Esterberg, 2002). As I was dealing with influential policy actors I had to be careful that they gave informed consent to participating in the research and they were also assured of the confidentiality of information that they shared. I developed an information sheet and a consent form to explain the interviewees about the research in non-technical sense (see Appendix A). In the consent form the interviewees were explicitly asked if they wanted to remain anonymous and being tape recorded. Most people agreed to be tape recorded and remain anonymous in reporting data. In terms of ensuring anonymity I have used only generic categories of interviewees in the thesis and avoided any particular names unless the information is gathered from a public source. The head of the policy review team consented to being named in the thesis and therefore is identified in this way. It would have been very difficult to hide his identity. His agreement to be named helped avoid this ethical dilemma. During the interviews I was also handed some confidential documents containing the written feedback to the policy review team by the organisations that the interviewees belonged to. All such documents are also anonymised.

8 Conclusion

This chapter connects the theoretical framework that I have adopted in the research with the methodological and analytical resources employed in the research. I am working within the critical theory paradigm, which focuses on the issue of social justice, structural inequities and power relations in social research. The chapter explains that I am using the conception of the Sphere of Authority (SoA) by Rosenau (1999) to understand the authority of the Pakistani government in formulating its education policy. My interest in understanding the issue of SoA of Pakistani government in the context of global geo-political and economic tensions locates me within the tradition of policy sociology. The policy sociology as opposed to the policy science tradition and consistent with the critical theory paradigm is more interested in improving understanding rather than improving policy efficiency.

What follows are three separate chapters organised in relation to the three layers of the analytical framework that I have developed in this chapter. In chapter five, I present the findings based on the linguistic analysis of the White Paper. In chapter six, I present the findings of the discursive analysis of the process of policy review and the production of the White Paper. Chapter seven offers a concluding discussion of the major questions raised by this research. Thus chapters five, six and seven should be considered as contributing in different ways to an argument that is brought together in the conclusion.

Chapter 5: Linguistic Analysis of the White Paper

In this chapter I look at the first level of analysis proposed in the analytical framework developed in chapter 4 – linguistic analysis. My focus here is the text of the White Paper. The analysis presented in chapter is part of the overall analytical framework. I focus on the way the construction of language and the presentation of the White Paper illustrate the Sphere of Authority (SoA) of the Pakistani government. I explore how government uses linguistic resources to exert its SoA and how it resists or accommodates external pressures. The linguistic analysis is mainly based on Fairclough's version of CDA, which is adapted for the purpose of this research.

The analysis works through the following key elements:

- a. Style –the stylistic features of the White Paper's text, its structure, layout and design with particular attention to the extent to which it is 'global' or 'vernacular' in style;
- b. Genre – the way the language is enacted in the White Paper text, its sophistication and grammatical mood. This provides information about how the text is managing tensions between the global and the national, and how the policy establishes particular facts by using language in particular mood.
- c. Assumed readership – attention to the audience that the White Paper is speaking to. The selection of issues and the message that the text delivers about them tells us about the audience (national and global) that the text has in mind. The nature of message also reveals whether the White Paper accepts or rejects the presumed position of the audience.
- d. Source of language authority – attempting to establish the various sources of authority (national and global) explicitly or implicitly referenced in the text, and in

relation to which issues. This reveals the SoA of the national and the global in relation to specific policy matters.

1 Style

1.1 Preliminary pages

There are no preliminary pages setting out messages from the Prime Minister, the Minister of Education or the Education Secretary, although those are conventional in official policy documents in Pakistan, see for example the 1998 policy. This perhaps signals that the document is ‘purely’ produced by the National Education Policy Review (NEPR) team and has semi-official status. Below I present the past policies and the messages of officials in the beginning to put this observation into perspective:

1998 policy	Foreword by Minister (3 pages); preface by Secretary (3 pages)
1992 policy	Foreword by Minister (2 pages)
1979 policy	Foreword by Secretary (2 pages)
1972 policy	No preface, foreword or preliminary pages
1970 policy	Foreword by Minister (2 pages)
1959 Commission	Preface signed by all Commission members (11) (4 pages)
1952 Conference	Address by Minister
1947 Conference	Address by Quaid and Minister

There was no preface by NEPR team leader in the first draft of the White Paper. The revised White Paper contains a one-page preface by the team leader explaining the reason for a ‘revised version’.

1.2 Content structure

The contents are divided into twelve broad headings. The total document has 8-preliminary pages; 60-main pages; and 31-appendix pages. The contents are

structured under 12 headings apart from appendices and preface. The bulk of the material (pp. 5- 55; 50 pages) is presented under headings 5-9 which are entitled: Governance & Management; Quality; Equity; Access to Education and Relevance. These headings reflect the way educational concerns are constructed under the UNESCO sponsored Education for All (EFA) goals. These categories are quite different from the way the earlier policy documents are presented, which typically present primary, secondary and tertiary education and then move to specific educational concerns. The background work leading to the recommendations of the policy is attached either in full or in summary in the appendices. Hence, the appendices take up quite substantial space in the document (31 pages).

Headings 1-4 (pp. 1-5) develop the ideological grounding that underpins the recommendations of the White Paper. They talk about the vision, goals, ideology and objectives that are generally expected from education. Islamic ideology is also discussed here. Headings 5-12 (pp. 5-60) describe educational policy issues along with the recommendation of the NEPR team. Under each heading the policy issue is explained, the current situation is described, and the problems are identified. This then leads to 'policy recommendations'.

1.3 Layout of the content

As an example to understand how the policy issues and recommendations are presented, here I describe the example of 'Governance & Management' issues. The major heading (number 5) is labelled as 'Governance & Management', underneath the heading there is some introductory discussion. The introductory discussion is followed by five sub-headings, some of them are further sub-divided. The sub-headings defining the governance and management issues are: Inter-tier roles and responsibilities; Policy & planning; Education financing; Key management issues; Political interference and corruption. Following these headings, policy recommendations are presented in numbered bullet points.

1.4 Appendices

The appendices take up just over half of the main pages (31:60). There are five appendices as follows:

- I. National Education Policy – Review 2005-2006: consultative process and methodology (pp. 61-74)
- II. Structure of the formal education system in Pakistan (p. 75)
- III. Governance structure in Pakistan (p. 76)
- IV. Review and analysis of previous education policies 1947-1998 (pp.77-78, 83-91)
- V. Legal framework governing education sector of Pakistan (pp. 79-81)

Appendices II, III and V are about understanding the structure of education system, the overall governance structure of the country and the legal framework for the education sector. Together these three appendices comprise five pages; appendices II and III are figures. Appendix I describes in detail the consultative process that was followed by the National Education Policy Review Team. It occupies 14 pages including five attachments within it. Appendix IV is about the analysis of previous education policies from 1947 to 1998. It takes up 11 pages including 9 pages comprising a ‘matrix of past policies’.

Annex I details the consultative process and methodology adopted for the review. Detailed description of every stage is provided along with the details of consultative workshops, conferences, list of participants and list of background (green) papers and analytical (thematic) papers. One of the important features of this appendix is a four-page (pp. 70-73) summary of the ‘process methodology of past education policies and commission report 1947-1998’. This shows that at the time of review the NEPR team was well aware of the past processes and must have wished to demonstrate that it had acted to ensure more rigour for the current review.

The attachment of Annex-IV is a matrix that presents the findings of past education policies related to various themes. The education policies that are presented include the following:

Report of the Pakistan National Educational Conference – 1947
Report of the Second Pakistan Educational Conference – 1951
Report of the National Commission on Education – 1959
Report of the Commission on Students Problems and Welfare – 1966
Proposal for New Education Policy – 1969
New Education Policy – 1970
Education Policy – 1972-78
National Education Policy – 1979
National Education Policy – 1992
National Education Policy – 1998-2010

These policies were reviewed in relation to the following themes that are presented in the matrix:

Vision/ objectives/ aims/ civic sensibility/ historical perspective of Pakistan
movement/ freedom struggle/ Pakistani nationalism/ culture & heritage/
minorities (religious as well as cultural)
Primary/ secondary education and school management
Higher education
Medium of instruction
Religious and madrasa education
Curriculum, syllabi and textbooks
Gender and education
Private education, low pays, high profits & commercialization
Literacy and non-formal education
Technical, vocational and special education
Political scenario or environment with special emphasis on student and
teacher politics

1.5 Authorship and ownership

The title page stipulates that the White Paper was prepared by Javed Hasan Aly (leader of the policy review team) along with ‘National Education Policy Review Team’. The names of the members of the review team are not mentioned on the title page or anywhere else in the White Paper. Singling out an author is quite unique to this White Paper, and failure to mention the names of other members of the team is equally surprising. The Commission Report of 1959 is commonly known as the ‘Sharif Commission’ report after the name of its chairman, nevertheless the report does not single out any particular author (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 1959). The names of the full commission are mentioned in the introductory pages. No other policy document or conference proceeding bears the name of any person in the title or anywhere else in the report. Thus previous policy texts give the impression that the Ministry of Education is the author, in traditional civil service style, with no person identified.

Interestingly the latest draft of Education Policy refers to the White Paper in the following way:

Education in Pakistan: A White Paper, Document to Debate and Finalize the National Education Policy, **National Education Policy Review Team**, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2006.

This suggests that firstly the Ministry consider it an official document produced by the Ministry of Education and secondly that the authorship is now attributed to the ‘National Education Policy Review Team’ and not the sole author who appears on the White Paper. As far as the ownership of the White Paper is concerned, the title page of the White Paper bears the official seal of the ‘Government of Pakistan’, however, nowhere in the title or back pages do the words ‘Ministry of Education’ appear. All the policies mentioned earlier bear the words Ministry of Education’

explicitly in the title page with or without the official seal of the Government of Pakistan. Is this a deliberate omission and does it carry some meaning?

1.6 Apparent Openness

The White Paper first appeared in December 2006; a ‘revised’ version came out in February 2007, which is the focus here. That revision within a very short time suggests the openness of the review team to suggestions for change received after the first version was published. The preface to the revised version suggests that the policy has been revised based on the comments of civil society and academics. It says:

‘... the White Paper has evoked some very valid and well considered comments and observations. Some serious academics have also aired their views, most impressively, in the national press. It is recognized that certain clarifications and amplifications are absolutely essential to enlarge its ownership by all concerned. A revised White Paper has, therefore, been attempted to incorporate all valid suggestions to make the pre-policy document more refined.’ (p. iii).

1.7 English language a slippery issue

The English language issue seems quite slippery for the White Paper. It is dealt with under three different headings, firstly under heading 7.5 ‘parallel systems in education’; secondly under heading 7.7 ‘medium of instruction’; and thirdly under heading 9.6 as ‘teaching of English language’. Heading 9.6 was not present in the first version of the White Paper. In this connection it is interesting to note that the leader of the NEPR team resigned because of his conflict with the Minister of Education on the English language issue. This underscores the importance and complexity of the issue.

1.8 Intention

It is interesting to note that the White Paper sets out its ‘intention’ in the title, which is quite unique in terms of policy texts in Pakistan. The foot of the front cover notes:

‘This White Paper is intended to stimulate discussion of major policy issues concerning Education Sector in Pakistan. At this stage, it is not an official statement of Government’s policy but a draft document.’

This is in addition to the sub-title of the White Paper, which again reinforces the intention of the White Paper. The sub-title says that this is a ‘Document to debate and finalize the national education policy’. Thus the intention appears to be to emphasise the attention being paid to consultation through having a round of final discussions and consultations before finalising recommendations.

2 Genre

The White paper is a-typical of the Education Policy genre in Pakistan. Historically what can be termed ‘education policy’ in Pakistan comprises Conference proceedings (1947, 1951), Commission Reports (1959, 1966), or formal education policy documents (1970, 1972, 1979, 1992, 1998). In addition there has always been a section in the national planning document (called five year plans since 1955-1998, now called MTRF; also relevant are Vision 2030). The White paper departs from convention in appearing like a research report with detailed description of process, methodology and background information, all of which are produced in the appendices.

This is the first time that the Ministry of Education has issued a White Paper following consultation on the upcoming policy. Generally consultation in various forms for previous policies had led to a policy document, not a preliminary White Paper. Also the White Paper was followed by several Green Papers, which is also a-typical of the Ministry of Education’s conventional approach. One of the interviewees suggests that none of the other ministries follow this process of Green

and White Paper production (PRT4a). Hence it is quite unique in the policy genre in Pakistan, not only in relation to education but in other policy domains as well.

As stated earlier, the White paper's sub-title is: 'Document to debate and finalize the national education policy' and the foot of the title page also says, 'This White Paper is intended to stimulate discussion of major policy issues concerning Education Sector in Pakistan. At this stage, it is not an official statement of Government's policy but a draft document.' At no other time in the history of education policy was a preliminary document published and publicised as a consequence of which a final policy was to be designed. The preceding sentence, although clarifies that it is not yet 'an official' policy; nevertheless, it can be considered a 'draft'. The language of the White Paper and its recommendations come quite close to being called an 'official policy'. The closest precedent to this approach is the report of the Commission on National Education Policy, 1959. The recommendations of this report were subsequently taken up by the Planning Commission for the Second Five-year Plan (1960-65). The Commission's report (1959) was produced by the Ministry of Education, while the Plan was developed by the Planning Commission: these are different administrative/ministerial arms of the government. However the White Paper was produced by the 'National Education Policy Review Team' under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and the subsequent policy is also expected to come from the same ministry.

2.1 Sophistication of Language

Sophisticated language here means the use of an advanced and complex vocabulary, complex sentence structure and the use of long sentences.

The paragraph that constitutes the 'preamble' to the White Paper is a good example of the sophistication of language that has been used in the White Paper. The full paragraph is reproduced below and the vocabulary and sentence structures that convey the impression of sophistication and high-mindedness are highlighted in bold for key words, while sentences are underlined:

It is difficult to argue with the inference that the purpose behind the creation and development of human life is essentially the march of human society towards **high pedestals of civilization**, through a continuing process. Human history thus far testifies that knowledge is the key driver of human development, enabling it to add value to civilized life. Knowledge is essentially the product of education, only a rare and few have been endowed in history with the capacity to gain knowledge through intuition. Societies that emphasize education have historically prospered in comparison with those who relish the **comfort of ignorance**, confining themselves to a cocoon of **benign inactivity which retards growth**. Ever since societies developed into states, it has been the obligation of the independent State to recognize education as a right of the citizen. Therefore, States have always encouraged education and provided education directly, as far as possible. With the renaissance driven by the Muslim scholars of the early centuries of the second millennium, the world realized that human kind had to be the main focus of human enquiry and, thus, enquiry into human life and the environment concerning it has made it possible for humanity to reach the state of knowledge which it finds itself endowed with today. There is no possibility of societies and States, desiring to respond to the changing demands of growth not to invest individually, socially and materially in education to embark on a path of progress and realize their potential in **the comity of nations. An unwillingness to respond to change through acquisition of knowledge degenerates society – faith degenerating into dogma, legacy degenerating into nostalgia and commitment to ideas degenerating into obduracy.** Education therefore is the undeniable driver of the engine of progress. (p. 1)

The following points may be made:

2.1.1 Sophisticated language allows space for government to speak to various audiences

The use of ‘sophisticated language’ allows the government to satisfy its national and global audience. As multiple interpretations of these high flown rhetorical flourishes are possible, the ministry of education can seem to accommodate its different audiences and thus manage the pressure on it from internal forces and external demands. The particular use of language can arguably help protect the Sphere of Authority of the government in dealing with both national and global demands. In

this way the state can be seen to play a central and active role rather than a passive one.

One of the interviewees from the International Organisation (Don14) referred to the use of ‘sophisticated language’ as ‘philosophical’ specifically referring to the initial sections of the White Paper that deal with the role of religion and ideology in education: a philosophical style might be understood as indulging in debate on role of religion in education, which might deter policy from engaging with the issues of quality and equity in educational provisions.

Examples to support this claim that the choice of language provides room for manoeuvre for the government are:

‘Therefore, the education system should raise highly knowledgeable, skillful, productive, creative and confident individuals who have advanced reasoning and perception of problem solving skills; are committed to democratic values and human rights; are open to new ideas; have a sense of personal responsibility; are committed to moral values; have assimilated the national culture; are able to tolerate and value differences in opinion, faith and culture; have empathy towards all of humanity; and can participate in the productive activities in society for the common good, using social and physical sciences and technology.’ (p. 4-5, pr. 6)

‘What we need is not to deride the Madrasas, or require its so called mainstreaming, but to ensure that providers of religious education are converted to the cause of true Islam with a purpose to unite and purify people, and not for the purpose of widening the gulf between various schools of religious thoughts and in producing an individual divorced from reality and living in a fantasy world.’ (p. 57, pr. 3)

2.1.2 Sophisticated language is used to reinforce a discourse of ‘enlightened moderation’

The issue of Islam within the White Paper is presented in line with the ‘enlightened moderation’ discourse of the Musharraf government, which emphasised a liberal interpretation of Islam. ‘Sophisticated language’ is used to enforce that

understanding within the White Paper and this enlightened understanding of Islam is often contrasted with a ‘dogmatic’ view of Islam. The engagement of the White Paper with the issue of Islamic ideology may be contrasted with the latest version of the education policy (uploaded on the Ministry of Education (MoE) website in February 2009). The White Paper dedicated substantial space to dealing with Islamic ideology and the role of religion in education. The new education policy deals with Islamic ideology in just 2 paragraphs (paragraphs 47, 48, p. 9) mentioning that cultural values of education should be based on faith – Islam for Muslims and appropriate provisions for non-Muslims in accordance with the constitution of the country. A word search of the word ‘Islam’ reveals nothing in the whole document except these two paragraphs. It is possible that the strong engagement with Islamic ideology in the White paper reflects the individual ideas of the White Paper author, and this is supported by the interview data and also attested to by the fact that the National Education Conference was addressed by a religious scholar considered to have modernist views on Islam.

An extract from the text is given below that supports this analysis:

‘As stated earlier, Islamic ideology must determine the education policy as such and provide for options that will enable the Pakistani Muslim to develop himself or herself as a true Muslim, following the fundamentals of the religion and concerning himself or herself in a continuing application of true Islam to his or her life. The problem of Muslims in the last **several** centuries has been that we shied away from research-based seeking of knowledge and divested ourselves of the spirit of enquiry that alone permits breaking of new grounds and reaching higher levels of enlightenment. We have to unburden ourselves of the weight of centuries of nostalgia, suffocating our capacities to find our way out from the darkness of ignorance.’ (p. 56, pr. 3)

2.1.3 Sophisticated language use for the ideology and value sections

The frequency of appearance of what I have termed ‘sophisticated language’ is highest in the beginning pages 1-4 and then between pages 53-54 and 56-58. The occurrence of ‘sophisticated language’ in these pages is on average 4 or more times on any single page. The headings on these pages indicate what they deal with:

1. Preamble (p.1)
2. Background (pp.1-3)
3. Overview – process and policy (pp. 3-4)
4. Vision and purpose (pp. 4-5)
- 9.6 Teaching of English language (pp. 53-54)
10. Religious Education (pp. 56-58)
11. Linkages with principal social issues (p. 58)
- 11.1 Linkage with sectarianism (p. 58)
- 11.2 Linkage with population growth (p. 58)

It is apparent from the heading above and by reading the text that these pages touch upon ideological and value-oriented elements of the policy – ideology, purpose, religion, language. These are quite sensitive and delicate issues in the context of Pakistan and thus require careful dealing with. The use of sophisticated language also makes it harder for the general public to understand the real meaning and intention of policy. Such language use also makes possible multiple interpretations of the policy.

Thus it can be argued that ‘sophisticated language’ is used throughout the White Paper but more frequently used when dealing with ideological issues like educational purpose, role of religion, language of study and overall national ideology. Politicians are able to spin the interpretation to meet their political objectives and withstand public/media scrutiny.

Below are examples to support this analysis:

‘... we have succumbed to the predators of our faith, who primarily drive their strength from the ambiguity that ignorance breeds; where knowledge is based on nostalgia.’ (p. 2, pr. 2)

‘That the conflicts were allowed to fester is solely due to lack of public education preparing a mindset free of friction and fallacies.’ (p. 58, pr. 3)

Generally the use of ‘sophisticated language’ appears more in the problem setting part under any heading than under the section that makes policy recommendations. This observation suggests that setting out the problems offers more opportunities for complex but rather meaningless statements that may act to reassure people with a range of concerns that these concerns are being listened too. This may also distract attention from the fact that the recommendations for action are rather different in character. The rhetoric may be a form of distraction from the preferred policy outcomes. It is also possible that the problem is constructed in such a way that the proffered policy appears most appropriate.

2.1.4 Criticism, especially criticism of the present government, or the dominant ideology, becomes milder through use of sophisticated language

The White Paper is quite critical of various elements in relation to the overall education system. If we look closely at the above coded excerpts from the White Paper we find that they carry critical messages about: religious dogmatism, the politicisation of education, the poor administration of education, corruption, the poor quality of education (in a range of areas of provision including curriculum, textbooks, supply and quality of teachers, and their training). The White Paper also sometimes criticises the role of state in education and also its language policy. The use of ‘sophisticated language’ makes the criticism milder and more acceptable. It was subsequently discovered that the team leader of the White Paper disagreed with the Minister’s view on language policy¹¹ and the White Paper had to use this indirect and muted language to deal with the issue.

There follow some examples to illustrate this analysis:

‘These examinations themselves are infested with a number of problems that make them poor representatives of the efficiency of the system. Also

¹¹ The team leader of the White Paper resigned following the publication of the White Paper. The media report that he tendered his resignation because of his conflict with the Minister of Education over language policy (see Mustafa, 2007).

in the last few years their ability to determine merit has been eroded in the wake of widespread malpractices that has allowed the coining of the term ‘copy culture’.’ (p. 20, pr. 6, although not even three lines the structure is complex)

‘This has resulted in both the private sector providing quality education at a premium cost to the willing and able of the citizenry, and simultaneously exploiting the gullible poorer sections of the society into providing private education at a higher cost than government schools but not necessarily of a higher value.’ (p. 31, pr. 4)

‘However, the current severe scarcity of proficient teachers and teaching material in different languages, particularly in English, demand that the change management must be well considered, systematic and evolutionary in the time frame with the most importance placed on capacity building of the teachers as the pre-condition for imposition of a language, or the other as the medium of instruction.’ (p. 34, pr. 5)

2.1.5 Sophisticated language excludes educational officials at district level

Sophisticated use of language raises the question of readership. Such sophisticated language could only be understood with difficulty by even the senior education officials at the district level, let alone the head teachers or teachers. The research that I personally was involved (see Ali et al., 2006) showed that capacity at the district level is quite weak in relation to delivering the demands posed by decentralisation in Pakistan and I suspect this kind of language would hinder their participation and interpretation of the policy directives. Unless this language use is corrected in the subsequent policy that White Paper informs, the language alone could obstruct policy implementation even if the officials want to follow its recommendations. However a different reading of this use of language suggests that it is intended to remain at the symbolic level and is not intended to support implementation; in that sense it serves its purpose well.

2.2 Grammatical mood

The dominant grammatical mood throughout the White Paper switches between ‘declarative’ and ‘imperative’. The first pages (pp. 1-4) set the scene and are written in the declarative mood. In the rest of the document under each heading first the problem is described followed by policy recommendations. The problem setting section under each heading is mostly in the ‘declarative’ mood, though on occasions the ‘imperative’ mood appears. On no occasion does the declarative mood appear in the policy recommendations section under any heading. The use of the declarative mood conveys the nature of problem in such a way as to make the policy recommendations seem logical and inevitable.

The declarative grammatical mood achieves the following significant strategic manoeuvres:

2.2.1 Definition of the exact nature of the problem

By using a strongly declarative style, the text is able to claim or define the exact nature of the problem and thus dismisses or sidelines the other competing possibilities. Thus for example in the statement below the White Paper declares that past education policies followed ‘dogma’ and did not focus on providing education that can contribute constructively to social and economic development:

‘Dogma of one hue or the other has been the overall consideration rather than realizing education as the vehicle for social and economic development and as the means to provide individuals the capacity to realize their personal potentials.’ (p. 2, pr. 2).

This implies that previous policies were more concerned with the value orientation of the policy rather than its social and economic benefits. It further implies that seeking a value orientation is not a legitimate option for education policy. Yet the White Paper itself negates that possibility and suggests later in the text that education should pursue ideological aims and in the case of Pakistan these are provided by

Islamic beliefs, though it also clarifies this to claim to follow ‘true’ understanding of Islam.

‘The Education Policy of every State has an ideological basis at least for a predictable timeframe.... in the context of Pakistan, this ideological base is essentially and historically provided by Islam as an ideology derived from Islam the religion.... However, Islam is not and cannot continue to be treated as a static religious dogma, thriving on ignorance and nostalgia.’ (p. 3, pr. 5-6)

2.2.2 Claiming settlement: ending debate

The declarative mood acts to carry a political settlement in an area of debate, and does this by privileging certain understandings over others. For example, the White Paper defines five specific constitutive elements of quality in education:

‘Most inputs in the system contribute to quality. However, there are five basic pillars that have the major share. These are curriculum, textbooks, assessments, teachers and the environment in an institution – not necessarily in the same order of priority.’ (p. 17, pr. 2)

There is a continuous critique over the curriculum in Pakistan that it is not contextually relevant particularly for rural children. In the White Paper, this is stated as fact and thus appears a settled issue that demands to be addressed by policy:

‘Also contextual rural settings do not find an appropriate place in the curriculum, which has a serious urban bias that makes the subject less relevant and more difficult for the rural learner.’ (p. 29, pr. 3)

However, sometimes the debate is too sensitive to provide any outright settlement. For example in case of language issue in Pakistan.

‘In the context of the education system, this issue [the language issue] has taken on equally pedagogical and political tones – and more recently, religious tones. A difficult balance must be struck to ensure language proficiency, conceptual learning, effective administration, religious

learning and economic and cultural equity. This tension shows through most clearly in the medium of instruction debate.’ (p. 34, pr. 2)

Stating the sensitivities involved in the language issue in education, the White Paper goes on in the next paragraphs to outline the main features of this debate so as to propose an appropriate policy recommendation. Three mediums of instruction were considered along with their advantages and shortcomings – mother tongue, Urdu and English. The assessment presented in the White Paper suggests that the mother tongue is the best medium for learning, but does not prepare for secondary education in other languages, and it is not a language that supports economic gain. There is also the difficulty of finding teachers who can deal with diverse local languages. Urdu is said to be useful due to the complex population mix, its status as a regional lingua franca, though it is noted that it is experienced as an imperialist language by some. English is associated with economic benefits but the system lack resources for teaching it and it is also not a national language. (p. 34, pr. 2-3). Thus the declarative tone of the document is unable to promote a policy settlement in some complex areas.

However in other sensitive areas, especially those where religion and education intersect, the text claims a settlement that reflects government intentions. Below are some examples where the issues related to religion are stated as settled:

‘It is principally the duty of the family to bring up its child with awareness of the religious injunctions which form his/her earliest environment.... The responsibility of the State is essentially to support the family in as far as religious education is concerned.’ (p. 56, pr. 1)

‘Religious Education should be easily available to the citizens and there should be no compulsion for believers in one faith to pursue religious education of another one.’ (p. 56, pr. 2)

2.2.3 Defining key terms

The White Paper uses a declarative style to state the official definition or propose a definition where one is needed:

‘According to the latest definition, Pakistan recognizes as literate a person who can read a newspaper, write a simple letter in any language and do simple addition and subtraction.’ (p. 44, pr. 3)

‘Equity in education, therefore, would take into consideration not only equal access to education of a particular standard, but the contents of curriculum, instructional and evaluation materials and practices, different ways of learning and views of knowledge, and everyone having the opportunity to achieve.’ (p. 28, pr. 1)

The declarative mood is used to state (define) the relative roles played by the public and private sectors in Pakistani education. The long list of the role of the private sector is also indicative of its increased role in education:

At present the public sector’s role in Pakistani education is:

- a) To provide services at different levels of education.
- b) To set up educational institutions.
- c) To establish examination, curriculum and Textbook Boards at all levels and to establish training institutions.

The private sector is playing a role in:

- a) Setting up educational institutions at all levels.
- b) Teacher training.
- c) Funding research.
- d) Providing quality education, particularly in the form of foreign degrees that the State will not offer.

- e) Providing quality professional education especially in Business, Information Communication Technology (ICT), Law and Medicine.
- f) Non-formal education.
- g) Adult literacy programmes.
- h) Most recently setting up private examination boards.

(pp. 31-32, 5, 1)

2.2.4 Defining problems and their causes

The declarative mode is most frequently used in the text to state a problem and define its causes, for example:

‘The main problem arises from an administrative, instead of functional, division of powers between the provincial and local governments.’ (p. 7, pr. 3)

‘Pakistan continues to face a problem of access because of low levels of public spending, literacy and enrolments, acute regional and gender inequalities, and inequalities in the distribution of budgetary allocations to education. The main factors that keep children out of education are: poverty combined with education not perceived to provide economic gains, low quality of education, traditional style of teaching and corporal punishment, long distances to schools and high student-teacher ratio.’ (p. 36, pr. 3)

‘... the implementation of goals set in different policy documents was not uniformly achieved due to unequal attention paid at various tiers of implementation or adversarial environment concerning governance of education.’ (p. 5, pr. 4)

‘The number of teachers and their methods of teaching (e.g. multi-grade teaching in rural schools), the curricula, syllabi and textbooks, and the use of corporal punishment are major reasons for dropouts.’ (p. 39, pr. 2)

2.2.5 Connecting causal factors

Links between various factors are also established by the use of the declarative mood. For example in the quotes below a link is being established between the donor support and policy distortion:

‘Availability of donor support and money also reduces the practical significance of the policy as the priorities identified by these agreements overtake other conditions. Formally, these interventions are not against, or outside, the policy; but these do sometimes distort the priorities.’ (p. 8, pr. 4)

‘Presently moving in the project mode, the plans are either donor-driven or created on adhoc basis for political expediency. These do not flow from the national education policy.’ (p. 8, pr. 6)

2.2.6 Creating the conditions for intervention

The current state of affairs on various points is also declared using the declarative grammatical mood. This serves as setting the scene under which the policy recommendations appear as obvious and legitimate. For example the text draws attention to the gap between public and private schools in the following way:

‘To state the obvious, the rich go to private schools and the poor go to public schools creating apartheid like situation in the education sector.’ (p. 30, pr. 1)

The emergence of social divisions due to different streams of education being offered in the country is also noted:

‘With the A and O levels on one side and the matriculation stream on the other being simultaneously pursued, a definite social cleavage is slowly expanding ...’ (p. 32, pr. 6)

In the same tone, the need to change attitudes and provision for language teaching is declared:

‘So English was the official language of authority and the language of the elite and was understandably perceived as a vehicle for social and economic advancement. After 1947, English has continued to enjoy privilege of the British times, though no more considered imperialistic in dispensation. In the meantime in the last half a century or so, the influence of English language has broadened way outside the original English speaking countries. It is no more the language of Anglo-Saxon descent but is now a language of international communication, cosmopolitan life and transnational trade and commerce. English has grown from its colonial aura of luxury and prestige to an international necessity in the globalized world.’ (pp. 53-54, pr. 5, 1)

2.2.7 Referencing historical connections

The White Paper uses previous policy statements and constitutional obligations where it wants to promote those policies in and through the current education policy. As the role of the private sector is being encouraged in education the White Paper reminds its readers that this is not a new policy but a continuation of an old one:

‘Almost all [except 1972] the policy interventions have recognized the role of the private sector in delivery of education to the people of Pakistan and have in varying degrees encouraged their development and sustenance.’ (p. 31, pr. 3)

The White Paper also reminds the government of its fundamental obligations in relation to education provision:

‘It is an obligation of the State to provide equal opportunity to all citizens for improving their status in life. In education, the basic objective should be access to quality education for all, irrespective of family income, geographic reach, gender, religion and ethnicity.’ (p. 35, pr. 2)

2.2.8 Apportioning Responsibility

Declarative statements are used to identify groups which are held responsible for educational deprivation and failure. In the following quote the White Paper declares that the responsibility of promoting the widespread culture of cheating in

examinations lies with everyone and therefore, could only be solved when the solution is directed at all these involved.

‘Stakeholders complain of use of unfair means. In some cases even the examinations conducted for class five were not spared as one stakeholder alleged that the papers were available with the public three days before the examinations. Unfortunately, it involves all - teachers, parents, students, board officials and influential persons of all denominations.’ (p. 21, pr. 4)

2.2.9 Concluding remarks

The grammatical mood in the White Paper is ‘declarative’ and ‘imperative’: through this style the text claims and exerts authority. Policy issues are described through main and sub headings. Each of the sub-headings usually highlights a policy issue which is then followed by a policy recommendation. The declarative mood appears at the beginning of any heading, which sets out the problem, followed by a further sub-heading containing ‘policy recommendations’. These bulleted recommendations are mostly in ‘imperative’ mood. Sometimes the imperative mood appears in the problem setting section of a particular heading, however, this is not very common throughout the document. Even when something is mentioned imperatively in the problem statement section, it is repeated in the policy recommendation section.

In light of the CDA approach the data coded under the ‘grammatical mood’ are now examined to see how the particular use of grammatical mood works for determining the SoA of the State.

The analysis of the White Paper reveals that the use of ‘declarative grammatical mood’ does the following:

- Defines the problem
- Claims settlement of debatable issues
- Defines terms
- Defines the causes of problems

- Makes causal connections
- Creates conditions for possible interventions
- References historical connections
- Allocates responsibility

Reflecting on the above functions of ‘declarative grammatical mood’ within the White Paper and in relation to the research question, some conclusions may be drawn:

- Language (discourse) is a powerful tool at the state’s disposal through which it can articulate the current situation and give it legitimacy. The debates on various problematic issues are captured and also settled towards a particular direction.

Terminologies are defined and expanded. A selective history is drawn upon to favour the current direction of the government. Alternatives are side-lined or omitted. Hence analysis of the declarative mood of the White Paper reveals how the State uses language as a powerful tool to determine its SoA. The legitimacy of the assertions in the text are supported by highlighting the consultative process that it went through, thus enabling claims that the voice of people is behind the policy.

- The ‘imperative grammatical mood’ is used by the policy in policy recommendations sections of the White Paper, and it is used in varied forms. The imperative mood as hard or soft and the voice adopted in transitional passages (i.e. when the text moves to a new topic) may be direct or indirect. The hard and active voice suggests the most powerful assertions while the soft and passive voice is used where strong direction is not deemed to be appropriate. The ‘hard’ voice employs such terms as: should be, should not be, must, be (recognised), shall be, while the soft mood uses terms such as needs to be, may be (provided), can be.

- The policy recommendations within the White Paper are generally presented in the passive voice, which conceals the ‘actor’ and only reveals the function that needs to be carried out. This could be interpreted as revealing the weakness of the text, because of the absence of an actor, though, of course, government is the actor.

However, in the absence of an actor and given that number of government departments are involved in educational services, the passive voice also distributes responsibility. Thus if the government is not willing to act on all-or indeed any-recommendations, it can conveniently place responsibility with the bureaucracy, and not identify itself with the transition to 'active' voice. Thus for example the White Paper talks about creating a cadre of educational managers following the civil service pattern; this can conveniently be ignored or be pushed aside.

Thus language provides a useful shield for the government against various pressure groups, national and international. And the discursive strategy of the text could arguably be considered as a tool by the government to maintain their SoA.

3 Assumed readership

Any text is produced keeping in view its possible readership, therefore the genre and style of a newspaper article is quite different from a research journal article. The White Paper as a pre-policy document addresses itself to various readerships; these are mostly implicit but sometimes explicit. Its first and foremost reader is the Ministry of Education and various governmental bodies dealing with education. However, being an official document it is also addressed to various stakeholders who participated during consultations. The text is also the presentation of the government's declared intentions and addresses the general public and organisations both nationally and internationally.

With these understandings I read the White Paper to try and assess which particular segments of population it addresses both nationally and internationally. As mentioned earlier, the Ministry of Education is the prime audience of the White Paper and most policy recommendations are expected to be taken up by the ministry. So, rather than marking all the passages that are addressed to the ministry (which will include a large proportion of the White Paper) I focused more on coding the readership other than the ministry. I set out below the frequency of references to the readership as coded in the White Paper. Although frequency of reference is of

interest this was not the main intention. The main intention in looking at the readership was to establish if the audience was national or international audience, given the implications this might have for understanding the SoA of the state.

Table 4: Assumed readership of the White Paper and discussed issues

Assumed reader	Frequency	Range of concerns discussed
Sophisticated reader	1	high level English use
Minorities & Missionaries	5	Coexistence within Islamic polity; freedom of religious practice; Course in ethics/ values instead of Islamiat; no compulsion to pursue Islamic studies; like madrasas other faiths education not to indulge in prejudice or fear mongering;
Religious elements/ scholars	8	Ignorance due to misinterpretation; static dogmas instead of dynamism; madrasa are not alone faith based there are missionary schools too; faith based institutions (madrasa) be reformed not disbanded; language in education; State to provide broad religious education non-sectarian; religious education primarily by family not state; Islamic education to promote research-based seeking and tolerance; no sectarian education by State; sectarian violence harmed socially and economically;
Madrasa management	3	Madrasas considered at par with other faith institutions like missionaries; madrasas considered civil society orgs; madrasas to provide prejudice-free religious education; no sectarian education by State; madrasas support state, need reform not abolishment;
Moderates	5	Islamic ideology as education base but modernist; State to provide broad religious education non-sectarian; avoid culturally alien interventions; Islamic education to promote

		research-based seeking and tolerance; no sectarian education by State;
Pakistani Muslims in general	1	Language subject and Quranic stories can be merged;
Federal and/or Provincial Ministry of Education & Departments (also District level)	13	Federal to be non-intrusive & Provincial non-conflict; Province/District harmony; fallibility of project approach; donor driven in-service training for primary; foreign assistance in textbooks development; not properly tapping private sector potential; language in education; EFA goals' investment; First time official introduction of Early Childhood Education (ECE); continuous re-statement of targets; Budget increase for education; balance of allocation b/w basic and higher education; clarification of HEC lavish allocation; Links and relevance with Industry;
Curriculum Wing & Textbook Boards	5	CW officials not author books; Language subject and Quranic stories can be merged; ensure production of interesting books by capable authors; curriculum & textbooks central to overcoming various social challenges;
National Vocational and Technical Education Commission (NAVTEC)	4	Lack of relevance of technical education with industry; weak industrial links; focus more on industry, need more Agro industry based skills; flexible technical education at school, training or community centres or on job; religious education primarily by family not state;
Higher Education Commission (HEC)	6	Strong political support and budget for success; clarification of HEC lavish allocation; lesser value to social science; social science imp to build social character; ignorance of broader policy frameworks; doubtful quality of distance education through AIOU; Degrees to take account of market need and technology advancements – industry/work links;

		Engineering universities to increase enrolment and graduation due to high need (20 times than present);
Universities	5	Not to spread thinly and build on strengths; Degrees to take account of market need and technology advancements – industry/work links; Engineering universities to increase enrolment and graduation due to high need (20 times than present);
Government generally	6	Convention against Discrimination in Education by UNESCO in 1960 not ratified; Gender targets not yet achieved; ECE benefits in reducing crime & poverty; lack of political will (4); Major literacy programmes;
Exam Boards of backward areas	1	Generous marking harmful in open competition;
International Examination agencies in UK	1	Continue O & A level certifications;
International Organisations	21	Higher % budget allocation for education (4%); SWAP; PPP (3); fallibility of project approach; donor driven in-service training for primary; foreign assistance in textbooks development; Convention against Discrimination in Education by UNESCO in 1960; Free elementary education for girls by 2010; free sec education by 2020; madrasa are not alone faith based there are missionary schools too; faith based institutions (madrasa) be reformed not disbanded; language in education; EFA goals' investment; Equal emphasis on secondary education needed; MoE showing budget increase for education; increased involvement of NGOs in literacy programmes; State to provide broad religious education non-sectarian; Ss to be prepared for nationhood, world citizenship & with environmental

		sensibilities; avoid culturally alien interventions; Child labour issue; religious education primarily by family not state; like madrasas other faiths education not to indulge in prejudice or fear mongering; concerns of environment, sustainable development and disaster management;
Donors	2	
Western audience	1	fair of fundamentalist Islam; Education as basic human right; commitment to democratic values
Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs)	8	Convention against Discrimination in Education by UNESCO in 1960; madrasa are not alone faith based there are missionary schools too; faith based institutions (madrasa) be reformed not disbanded; language in education; increased involvement of NGOs in literacy programmes; investment in capacity building of NGOs; Ss to be prepared for nationhood, world citizenship & with environmental sensibilities; avoid culturally alien interventions; concerns of environment, sustainable development and disaster management;
Education experts	1	Confusion between curriculum and textbooks
Society at large	2	Support from all sections to ensure provision for all;
Elites/ politicians & political parties/ political will	5	Political corruption in teachers appointments; language in education; political will (4); awareness raising campaigns regarding education; elites and politicians are authoritarian and careless about law;
Private sector (providers)	3	Public Private Partnership (PPP) (2); provide technical education and management skills through PPP;
Industry/ work	4	Links with MoE; Strong links with Universities; flexible technical education at school, training

		or community centres or on job;
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This analysis identifies five major groups that are the assumed audience of the text. These include: i) Government bodies; ii) International organisations; iii) Religious elements; iv) Civil society; v) Industry; and vi) Politicians. These major categories include certain sub-categories of assumed readers, as follows:

1. Government bodies: federal and provincial ministries and departments of education along with districts; curriculum wing and textbook boards; NAVTEC; HEC; Universities; Examination boards and government in general.
2. International organisations: international organisations; international examination agencies in UK; donors and Western audience in general.
3. Religious elements: religious elements and scholars; madrasas' management; moderate Muslims; minorities and missionaries; and Pakistani Muslims in general.
4. Civil society: NGOs; education experts; and society at large
5. Industry: industry; work; and private sector
6. Politicians: politicians; elites; political parties and leadership

As indicated earlier, I did not include the Ministry in this coding exercise, and the table only alludes to some important passages related to the MoE. After the government the single most important 'assumed readership' is that of international organisations.

I will now consider each of the 6 categories of readership and explain their sub-categories and the range of concerns that each one of them deals with.

3.1 Government bodies

These include: the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education; Textbook boards; National Vocational and Technical Education Commission (NAVTEC); the Higher Education Commission (HEC); Universities; and Examination Boards.

Some of the major issues that appear in the White Paper while addressing the federal, provincial and district education sectors are as follows:

- Harmony of relationships and functional responsibilities between federal, provincial and district education departments.
- Strong linkages between educational institutions (technical and higher) with work, market and industry requirements.
- Strong political support and appropriate budget allocations for both basic and higher education.
- Consideration of international targets, conventions and trends.
- Curriculum and textbooks to be relevant, interesting and free of religious dogmatism.

3.2 International Organisations

International organisations and powerful Western interests appear as the second largest category of assumed readership in the White Paper. Two trends may be discerned here. Firstly, the White Paper seems to be speaking to International Organisations and its general Western audience by appearing to follow the acceptable policy directions by these organisations. The White Paper particularly favours the policy of sector wide planning and public private partnerships, which are preferred policy prescriptions of international organisations. There are references to international targets, and conventions and willingness to achieve these.

Recommendations in favour of them are also apparent in the White Paper and thus evidence the need to reassure the international organisations. The White Paper also recommends consideration of popular international development themes like the environment, sustainability, gender equity, and disaster management. It specifically

states that O & A level examinations will not be abandoned (p. 32). Another strong emphasis in the White Paper is on religion and education and it suggests to its Western audience that the government wants to minimise state provision of religious education and limit its content to broad ethical considerations while allocating the task of religious education to families. It also suggests reformation of the madrasas.

Secondly, the White Paper addresses some of the issues that International Organisations may have concerns about, but which cannot be ignored within Pakistani context. For example the White Paper suggests that in addition to increasing primary education access there needs to be an equal emphasis on the need for secondary education. It also asks the International Organisations not to pursue interventions that are culturally unacceptable, not only because of religious sentiments but because of social convention (for example men and women travelling in the same vehicle (p. 47)). In terms of religious education, while the government emphasises that the state should not indulge in detailed religious teaching, it stresses to the international audience generally and International Organisations particularly that Islam is essentially a modern and non-dogmatic religion, thus they should seek reforming religious education rather than abolishing it from curriculum. It also reminds the International world that there are other faith based education systems operating in Pakistan, such as the Christian missionaries, which should be treated on a par with the Islamic faith schools, the madrasas.

In this way the White Paper seems to be establishing its SoA, by accepting some but challenging other conventional policies favoured by international organisations. It is clear that the discursive use of language is building a space for the government where it creates its own terrain by taking account of some concerns and pressures, rejecting others and proposing alternatives.

3.3 Religious elements

Within the religious elements, the White Paper speaks to three categories, which are: conservative religious elements including madrasa management; moderate religious

elements; and non-Muslim minorities. The conservative religious elements are portrayed through language as dogmatic, lacking research based knowledge, inciting sectarian violence and largely ignorant of modernity. Hence, they should be reformed. In the case of the madrasas, they should be reformed rather than disbanded as they are shouldering a burden of state. The White Paper discursively constructs the madrasas as belonging to civil society and as needing reform rather than abolition.

The moderates are addressed in the White Paper by contrasting them with the conservative elements. Various recommendations that are supported by the moderates and thus speak directly to their concerns are included, for example reduced state involvement in religious education, freedom of religious education for minorities, non-sectarian teaching and madrasa and curriculum reforms. The minorities are addressed by highlighting their freedom of religious education and their peaceful existence within broadly Islamic policy. Their rights are ensured as far as educational policy is concerned and often the Constitution of Pakistan is invoked in order to highlight this.

1. Civil society: NGOs; education experts; and society at large
2. Industry: industry; work; and private sector
3. Politicians: politicians; elites; political parties and leadership

3.4 Other assumed readerships

Civil society

Civil society and non-governmental organisations are also addressed by the White Paper. Most of the NGOs survive on international funds and are often sub-contracted by international organisations to do their work. Thus their concerns are often close to the concerns of International Organisations. Thus in dealing with various educational issues, the White Paper also addresses these NGOs. The relevant topics are concerns with commitment to international targets, sustainable development, concerns about the environment, gender and world citizenship. The White Paper also encourages the

role played by the NGOs in the education sector. It also takes up the contribution that NGOs could make to the reform of religious and madrasa education and to ensuring minority rights.

Industry

Generally the technical and vocational education and higher education institutions are encouraged to link with industry. The White Paper recommends bringing industry and education closer. Education should take market and employment needs into account so that a demand and supply balance can be created.

Politicians

Politicians are held in contempt by the White Paper in general. They are considered as damaging the education quality by the appointment of teachers through networks and contacts rather than on merit. Politicians and elites are characterised as authoritarian.

Most of all the lack of political will by the government is mentioned repeatedly to have contributed to the lack of policy implementation.

3.5 Concluding remarks

The White Paper assumes various readerships, and these assumptions are mostly implicit. The immediate audience for the White Paper is the government and Ministry of Education; however it assumes several others. These include: international organisations, religious elements, civil society, industry and politicians. In relation to the SoA of the state the White Paper implicitly addresses several groups simultaneously. The language used sometimes accepts the views of readership while at other times it opposes them and also sometimes tries to correct them. The most interesting phenomenon in relation to globalisation and the issue of understanding how globalisation acts on the national is the way the White Paper speaks to its international audience and international organisations. The complete and direct imposition of international policy directives does not appear to be the case here, rather the language of the text offers a more nuanced mediation – at least at the

level of discourse – of the pressure for policy convergence. The policy appears to have taken account of the preferred policy stances of various audiences and then tried to speak back to them. This allude to discursive mechanisms that policy makers use to mediate the effects of global (also national) pressures.

4 Source of language authority

The data coding for identifying the ‘authority of language’ used in the White Paper focuses on finding out the source of authority that is consulted in making judgements, proposing solutions and defining problems. The passages in the White Paper were coded keeping this in mind and were briefly commented upon in a separate file.

The reason for looking at the ‘authority of language’ was mainly to analyse the use of various sources of authority in the policy document. The focus was to broadly see whether the sources of authority are usually domestic or foreign/ National or global. However, many a times these distinctions are not very easy to disentangle, for example the process of reviewing the education policy was authorised by the Ministry of Education for national reasons, nevertheless the references to the knowledge economy suggest a more global trend:

‘In 2005, it was decided to review the National Education Policy to align it to achievable targets of human development, set by the Government of Pakistan and to reprioritize various targets in the field of education, to reduce conflicts and achieve a knowledge based economy permitting every individual to realize his or her innate potential fully.’ (p. 3, pr. 2)

The table below offers a further analysis of initial coded document. The first column shows whether the source of authority is national (N) or global (G). The second column of the table shows the sources of authority that are invoked in specific instances. The third column of the table shows the range of matters that are dealt with or alluded to in using a particular authority.

Table 5: Global and national sources of authority

	Source of authority (frequency of appearance)	Concerning matter
N	Founding figures – Quaid, Iqbal (2)	To emphasise importance of knowledge for future growth; to highlight deprivation of Muslims
N	Wide consultation (including its rigorous research) (8)	To establish credibility of White Paper and its recommendations; to portray ‘vision’ as common voice; to suggest meaning of quality; to describe lack in understanding of difference between curriculum and textbooks even among experts; to claim that education should take contextual varieties into account; to highlight issues of English curriculum and textbooks; to make higher education (HE) relevant, field based and research based;
N	Religious texts (Quran and <i>Sunnah</i>) (1)	To denounce ‘dogmatic Islam’ and promote ‘true Islam’;
N	Constitution, legal Ordinances, Law (5)	To suggest inter-tier roles and responsibilities; to recommend curriculum and textbook review; to propose enactment of compulsory education law; to promote literacy; to ensure freedom for minorities;
G	Common sense logic of Knowledge Economy (9)	To involve private sector in public service provision (PPP) (2); to suggest quality and competency of private sector; to promote central standards maintenance body; to claim importance of secondary education; to identify varying contemporary purposes of education; to articulate various purposes of education at various levels; to recommend strong focus on application of knowledge generated in universities; to focus on ICT development;
G	International comparison (of standards), experience and	To show low status of Pakistani women; to suggest ‘voucher system’; to highlight benefits of

	research (4)	ECE; to show that lesser importance is given to secondary education;
N	Prevalent domestic practices/assumptions (1)	To highlight corrupt political intervention in education;
N	Previous policies (6)	To forbid political intervention; to highlight importance of textbooks; to propose liberal textbook production policy; to encourage private sector involvement in education (2); to suggest elitist role for HE;
N	National Data and research (and experience) (8)	To build centralised and standardised assessment system; to suggest all stakeholders' involvement in ruining examination system; to show low educational status of women; to suggest multiple language policy; to show poor progress of government in education; to show poor participation rate; to highlight advantages of girls' education; to show increasing trend of HE enrolment; to share that poor and underachievers opt for technical stream; to claim pivotal role for education in reconstruction post disasters;
N	Moral argument (1)	To argue for rise in teachers' salary and status;
G	International Agreements, targets (6)	To eliminate discrimination; to ensure universal access to education; to achieve goals within particular time-frame; to emphasise achievement of global targets; to propose ECE education; to claim important of literacy in the context of non-formal education;
G	International history (2)	To claim importance of secondary education; to show decline in Muslim scholarship;
N	National history (2)	To show changing appeal and appearance of English language; to claim low attention of curriculum on health and hygiene subjects;
G N	Discourses of 'enlightened moderation' (1)	To announce religion teaching as primarily family responsibility;

The source of authority is identified as national (N) or global (G). It is clear from the table above that most of the sources of authority to claim, describe, highlight, argue for or against some issue are national. The global sources of authority are also used in a significant number of cases. There are 5 instances of global sources of authority, while number of national sources of authority is 10 – exactly double. The national sources of authority include the authority of: founding figures; consultation process and knowledge; religious texts; the Constitution and legal orders; prevalent domestic practices; previous national policies; national data and research; moral argument; national history and the discourse of ‘enlightened moderation’. The global sources of authority include the authority of: common sense logics of the knowledge economy; international comparisons, research and experience; international agreements and targets; international history;

In order to quantify the number of times a particular concern referenced national or global authority, I tally marked the sources and established that global sources of authority are used 22 times and national sources of authority are used 35 times – the difference is 13. The global sources of authority are used generally in reference to matters that deal with the economy, global competition, privatisation, and standardisation. The other major concerns where global authority is used are globally agreed targets and goals including educational access, discrimination, gender and early childhood education.

The national sources of authority are referenced for a variety of reasons. The issues of concerns are varied. The major issues are the issues of language, Islamic education, political corruption and curriculum reform and secondary and higher education. It is interesting to note that the issues of privatisation, standardisation and gender are also supported by the national sources of authority.

5 Conclusion

Based on the methodological framework developed in chapter 4, I have presented the findings of first dimension of analysis in this chapter – the linguistic analysis of the White Paper. The data are presented and commented upon to explore the discursive construction of the White Paper and how it relates to the SoA of the Pakistani government. Of particular interest is the analysis of the audience of the White paper and the extent to which it uses the authority of language to develop a positioning that accommodates external pressure while addressing its internal readership and retaining some autonomy. I have also tried to show how the policy texts often invoke particular sources of authority to increase or dilute the weight of its argument and by implication the SoA of the government. In the next chapter I will move to the second dimension of the analytical framework and look at the broader discursive framework around the White Paper and how it shapes the policy.

Chapter-6: Discursive Analysis of the White Paper

In continuation from the previous chapter, this chapter analyses the data resources in light of the second dimension of the analytical framework developed in chapter 4. The dimension two of the analytical framework as adapted from Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003) looks at the discursive practices around the text – the processes of production and consumption of the policy text. Utilising this approach for the research, this chapter focuses on the process of producing the White Paper; the practices of various actors in this consultative process; and the impact of various policy texts on the White Paper – Inter-textuality.

In order to remind ourselves of the kind of analysis that is being carried out for each of the three aspects of the discursive analysis, I would like to reproduce here the analytical framework that I developed in chapter 4 for discursive analysis. This framework also provides the structure for this chapter.

- a. Process of production – the discursive analysis here firstly tries to capture the process and its various stages that were put in place to conduct the policy review. More importantly it looks at the various forums that were utilised for the consultation and what they tried to achieve. In a way the consultative process itself represents the global influence on policy production process, which needs to appear to be participatory and consultative.
- b. Practices of policy actors – the discursive analysis here relies mainly on the interviews and discussion with various policy actors along with their written contributions during the policy review process. The analysis looks at the important policy actors and their participation in the consultation process. This helps us to understand the way the global influence operate at a national policy level through various policy actors.
- c. Inter-textuality – the discursive analysis here focuses on various policy texts that surround the policy review process and the White Paper. First of all the White Paper

itself was revised, hence inviting us to see the changes in the two versions and their possible motivators. Fairclough (1989) suggests that texts are active participants in a policy environment. Various texts refer to each other directly and indirectly and in doing so create a discursive framework. Two sets of texts are considered here in relation to the White Paper: first, a collection of national contemporary policy texts and second, a collection of contemporary international texts. This analysis reveals the interaction of national and international spheres of authority and presents the resultant White Paper as a text that symbolises the national SoA of the Pakistani government.

1 Process of production of the White Paper

1.1 Policy review team

The White Paper does not give the names of the members of National education Policy Review (NEPR) team except its leader 'Javed Hasan Aly'. This apparently simple question when asked by various members of the NEPR team yielded slightly varying results.

According to an official of the MoE the NEPR team comprised seven (7) members. This included 3 consultants contracted exclusively for the review in grades MP-I and MP-II (MP stands for Management Personnel). There were two senior members from the Ministry of Education at the levels of Joint Education Advisor (JEA) and Deputy Education Advisor (Deputy JEA). In addition there were two other members from an International Organisation. The NEPR team leader recalled that the team comprised himself, the two junior consultants who worked briefly with him for short durations and two members from an International Organisation. Towards the end he was also provided with some secretarial support for writing the White Paper by another International Organisation. Thus the total number came to be six (6). He considered the two junior consultants of lesser help as they were only involved for a short time, while the help of Ministry of Education was more administrative than intellectual according to him.

According to another member of the NEPR team the team comprised three (3) consultants – one MPI and two MP-II; two officials from the Ministry of Education – Joint Education Advisor and Deputy Education Advisor and supported by 2 members of an International Organisation. This makes the total number of people involved six (6). The confusion in the number relates to various factors. Firstly, the initially advertised positions for one team leader and three consultants could not all be filled. The two consultants who were recruited also stayed for short periods of 3-6 months at different times Secondly, the officials of the Ministry of Education were in a facilitative position and were considered loosely attached to the NEPR team. Thirdly, the initial intention of the team was to review the policy and propose a draft policy for finalisation. This was supposed to be the work of a single team, however, after the publication of the White Paper the team leader resigned and so did the consultants. The process of developing a new policy continued without hiring any new consultants. Hence the NEPR team after the resignation of the consultants has a very different composition.

Based on the above discussion it can be concluded that the NEPR team comprised seven (7) members including three consultants – one MP-I, two MP-II; two Ministry of Education officials – JEA and Deputy JEA of the Ministry of Education, Planning Wing; and two support personnel from an International Organisation. The two MP-II consultants remained for a short duration at different times. At the time of my research visit, the NEPR team comprised four members including three government officials – JEA, Deputy JEA and Research Officer; and a support person from an International Organisation.

The government official said that the reason behind recruiting consultants for the policy review was to ensure an ‘impartial policy document’ (PRT1a). However, when the consultants left, the Ministry did not recruit new consultants and proceeded independently. The government official explained:

‘Any how after the resignation of the team leader, there were two options with the Ministry. One option was to recruit another person and to again consume many months to train him and to make him in a position to take over the job. The other was to work ourselves with the help of the officers available in the Policy and Planning Wing of the Ministry of Education. Therefore, the decision makers – the then Education Secretary and the Education Minister decided not to recruit another person for this. The process of consultation has been over, the pre-policy document [White Paper] is there and now whatever has to be done, the professionals are sitting, these documents are available, all other records are minuted and available, now [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] you both should continue working on this. Therefore we continued. Of course even after that we continued consultations with academic institutions, provincial education departments and others.’ (PRT1a, identities blacked out for ensuring anonymity).

1.1.1 Financing of the Review team

All the interviewed members of the NEPR team maintained that the whole process of review was financed by the Ministry of Education without any external support. The government official claimed:

‘It was purely funded by the national exchequer from the Government of Pakistan. We sought special budget from the Finance Division for this policy review.’ (PRT1a)

The NEPR team leader supports this by saying:

‘[The finance for this review was provided] by the Government of Pakistan. Nothing came from other sources, nothing at all, not a penny.’ (PRT11)

Although the NEPR is claimed to be fully financed by the government, some support did come from some international agencies. For example an International Organisation sponsored the consultative roundtables for the NEPR team on the issues of gender, early childhood education, literacy and teacher education. Another International Organisation provided travelling costs of one member of the NEPR team from the government side during consultation. There were also two members

hired by an International Organisation who supported the work of the NEPR team. However the NEPR team maintained that this support was logistical and very minimal. In fact the team leader mentioned that they were cautious about taking support from any international organisation because of the very hostile local attitude. He said:

‘I was very particular not to receive any official assistance from any donors at all, but for good reasons. Because in this country it is very fashionable to say that a foreign agenda is being pursued.’ (PRT11)

The donors were also cautious about the same thing. One of the members from donor community expressed the following view:

‘We don’t directly support curriculum development and we don’t support directly policy development because we don’t want to even seemingly indicate that the [REDACTED] is swaying the policy in Pakistan with regard to education.’ (Don14, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

Despite these cautions, it is widely believed in Pakistan that donors have a substantial say in education policy in Pakistan either directly or indirectly because of the money that they invest in the sector. A head of NGO said simply:

‘Donors fund the development and therefore they are listened to.’ (NGO3)

1.1.2 Selection of the Review Team

The Inter Provincial Education Ministers’ Committee (IPEMC) agreed to review the existing policy in January 2005. In line with this the NEPR team was constituted in September 2005. Originally the team was supposed to comprise four members, including one team leader at the rank of MP-I and three junior consultants at the rank of MP-II. According to a member of the NEPR team, the ministry advertised for three positions of consultants but could only recruit one initially. Later on two junior

consultants joined but did not stay long with the team for long (PRT4). Describing the recruitment process one NEPR team member stated that:

There was a four months long hiring process, 600 candidates applied for the advertised position. Three interviews took place and the interview panel included secretary level people from the ministries of education, finance, Economic Affairs Division etc.' (PRT10).

According to the NEPR team members and government officials the team leader was selected through open competition advertised in the newspaper and the candidate had right qualifications and experience. Nevertheless, members agreed that the NEPR team leader was not an educationist though he had good experience of public policy. The team leader himself did not claim to be an 'education expert' but did claim capacity based on his public policy expertise which he said would result in a thorough policy making process. There was one former member of the team who claimed that the team leader's appointment was based on personal affiliations rather than merit. However, given the wide acknowledgement of the capacity of the team leader in producing the White Paper, this claim appears hard to sustain.

As the Ministry could not recruit or sustain the NEPR team consultants except the team leader, the composition of the team changed gradually. Two members of an international organisation gradually took more responsibility in the team and as did other ministry officials.

1.1.3 Working of the NEPR team

The team made extensive consultations beginning from October 2005 until August 2006 – eleven months. During this time the team carried out visits across the country to meet various stakeholders at district and provincial levels. They held provincial conferences, thematic roundtables and national conferences. Member of the NEPR team claimed that they went to remote areas in order to see really deprived schools for themselves and that they took extensive notes from the various meetings that they held.

If we look at the internal working relations between the members of the team, some rifts may be discerned. One member of the NEPR team was not happy about the attitude of the team leader when he refused to travel with the team during the district visits. According to that member the leader confined his visits to the provincial capitals and did not travel to the schools and districts in the rural areas, which represented provision for the majority of people. A major source of contention among the team members was the issue of authorship of the White Paper. The team leader claimed that apart from a few tables, he authored the whole White Paper himself based on the consultations:

‘I can claim now that except for the two tables of financial projections prepared by [REDACTED] not one word in this White Paper has been written by anyone except myself. Yes, there is one chapter which in the original draft I missed, which was Information Communication Technology and it was pointed out to me by [REDACTED], who is the [REDACTED]. So these are the two contributions from the [REDACTED], otherwise I had prepared the roadmap of how to proceed, the concept how will we have consultation, district visits, provincial consultations and the national education policy review, then preparing of Thematic Papers.’ (PRT11, identities blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

The team members claim that the final report is the culmination of a collective effort and it should not bear the name of a single individual:

‘Of course he was able to speak very eloquently in a very good tune after hearing from us people. He could write better but the basic work was done by the whole team. No single person can take credit that I did that.’ (PRT1a)

One member shared the same feeling while speaking to the researcher off-the-record. Another team member noted:

‘I just say that when you write something as part of an organisation it does not bear person’s name for example if I do some work of [REDACTED]. It was a joint work of the team’ (PRT10, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity).

Interestingly, while NEPR team members are not even acknowledged or referred to in the internal pages of the White Paper, in contrast to the 1959 Commission Report on education, known as ‘Sharif Commission Report’, after the leader of that Commission. That report clearly states the names of the members and leader of the Commission in the preface. This is not the case with White Paper, which only states the name of the team leader at the beginning and leaving the names of the National Education Policy Review team anonymous. Ambiguity about the team’s composition may have contributed to this, but it is probably not the full explanation. The issue of authorship is significant because without acknowledging the efforts of other team members, it appears that the White Paper is produced solely by a single author. The grievances shared by other team members during interview show that the team members were not happy because of their exclusion.

1.2 Stages of the review process

All the members of the NEPR team emphasised the highly consultative nature of the policy review and also seemed to take great pride in having made that happen. Comments from various members of the NEPR team including the government officials illustrate this:

‘This time a well conceived, methodical and systematic procedure was adopted, which was unprecedented in the history of Pakistan On the basis of feedback received from field visits, provincial education conferences, brainstorming sessions and the series of roundtables on important topics, Thematic Papers were developed by the Policy Review Team. After that we developed the White Paper, in which the summary of the findings of all issues, educational problems identified during the visits [was produced].’ (PRT1a)

‘I’m quite satisfied with the process We have consulted teachers, students, educationists, retired people, journalists. You name it, we talked to everybody.’ (F-MoE18)

‘We consulted everyone across, everyone under the sky you can say in education.’ (PRT4a)

‘We consulted the widest possible spectrum of all the people.’ (PRT11)

The policy review process was clearly articulated at the outset. This process was divided into three stages: a diagnostic stage, a prescriptive stage and a policy development stage. The White Paper refers to this broad process of consultation as a ‘Consultative Roadmap’ (p. 62), which was developed by the NEPR team along with the provincial governments. In an interview the NEPR team leader further elaborated that he developed this roadmap based on his own public policy experience. He said:

‘... I had prepared the roadmap of how to proceed, the concept how will we have consultation, district visits, provincial consultations and the national education policy review, then preparing of Thematic Papers.’ (PRT11)

No other person in the review said anything contrary to this assertion.

If we look at the history of policy development process and compare it with the White Paper, there are distinctive features of the process which are acknowledged across the board. This uniqueness appears to be the result of the acumen of the NEPR team leader, as there are no established conventions of policy making and the process depends on the whim of the leader. The members of the NEPR team interviewed during this research acknowledged the public policy experience of the team leader, the process was also appreciated by most people that I interviewed.

The review process is detailed both in the appendices of the White Paper (Annex I) and at the website of the Ministry of Education (www.moe.gov.pk/nepr/, accessed 20th April 2009). The various stages of the policy review are represented graphically below, adapted from Ministry of Education’s website and the Annex I of the White Paper. This will be followed by a detailed description of each stage of policy review.

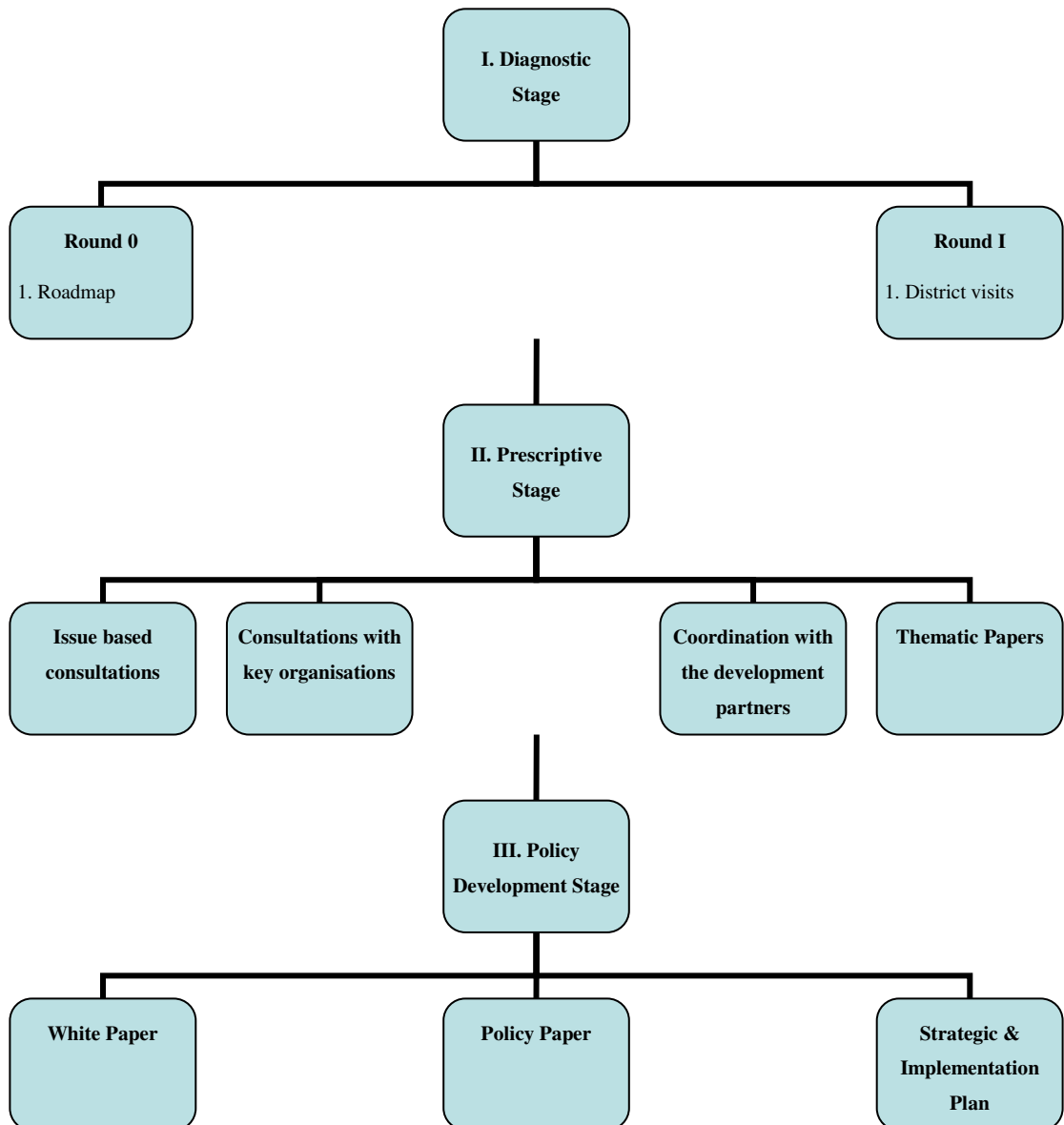


Figure 4: Stages of policy review

1.2.1 Stage I: Diagnostic stage

The diagnostic stage was the stage to initiate the consultative process. It included initial familiarisation of the NEPR team with the issues of education policy along with a chance to meet with provincial and district level educational officials. District schools visits were also carried out. The diagnostic stage was broadly divided into two rounds: Round 0 and Round I.

Round 0 included the following activities:

1. Preparation of the roadmap for the review process leading to the final policy
2. Literature review and research studies of the past education policies and understanding of the legal commitments made by the Government of Pakistan both nationally and internationally that needs to be accounted for in education policy making. Policy document of some regional countries also reviewed but names of those countries are not available.
3. Green papers on various education issues to initiate debate. 23 Green papers were prepared, most of them ranged around one to four pages.

Round I included the following activities:

1. District visits by the NEPR team: NEPR team visited 25% of the districts from all the four provinces in consultation with the district and provincial education authorities. The List of each district is produced both in the Annex I of the White Paper and the website of the Ministry of Education. Who and how various stakeholders are consulted is depicted clearly on the ministry's website, which is reproduced here:

‘The NEPR Team held one on one meetings, in-depth interviews, participatory dialogues, consultations and focus group discussions with teachers, students, parents, education managers, EDOs, AEDOs, District Nazims, women, civil society organizations, religious activists and rural communities.’ (www.moe.gov.pk/nepr/distvisit.asp, accessed 20th April 2009)

2. Education conferences – provincial, national: Regular conferences in each province and federally administered areas were conducted to have a wider consultation with various stakeholders within particular district or area. The

list of all these conferences and discussed themes is produced under Annex I (Attachment III) of the White Paper. A final two day national conference, 30-31 May 2006, addressed by the Prime Minister culminated this round.

1.2.2 Stage II: Prescriptive stage

The prescriptive stage comprised of four activities as follows:

1. Issue based consultations or roundtables on specific issues. Ten roundtables were held on various issues, the list of which is provided in appendix-I of the White Paper. A brief summary of the roundtable proceedings is produced on the website of the Ministry of Education. All the roundtables were conducted in Islamabad, the federal capital. The roundtables generally gathered a group of experts on particular education issues.
2. Consultation with key organisations. A list of six key organisations belonging to both public and private sector of education is produced in the White Paper, which were consulted generally on education issues and issues to deal with future education policy.
3. Coordination with the development partners. According to the White Paper, regular meetings were held between the NEPR team and the Donor Education Group (DEG) between July 2005 and June 2006. These meetings provided a forum to exchange thoughts and share feedbacks between the NEPR team and the DEG. The White Paper lists the dates of six meetings of NEPR with DEG during July 2005 and June 2006.
4. Thematic Papers. The production of Thematic Papers culminated this stage. According to the White Paper the Thematic Papers consolidated the huge data generated through various activities under stages I and II of the review process under broad themes. Six Thematic Papers were produced and their titles are produced in Annex I (Attachment V). The Thematic Papers were an internal document that preceded the production of the White Paper.

1.2.3 Stage III: Policy Development Stage

The policy development stage consisted of three activities:

1. White Paper production. Based on the consultations and following the Thematic Papers, the White Paper was produced and widely circulated in December 2006. It attracted significant feedback and thus the NEPR team felt it necessary to produce a revised version of the White Paper in February 2007.
2. Production of Policy Document. Following the production of the White Paper a draft policy document was prepared, which could not be finalised until early 2009 due to dissolution of NEPR team and the political upheavals in the country following the production of the White Paper. There were two initial drafts of the policy close to each other and were circulated in early 2007 to limited organisations for their feedback. Afterwards another draft was produced and uploaded on the website in April 2008, which was subsequently replaced by yet another one in February 2009. The final policy was approved by the government in August 2009.
3. Production of the Strategic and Implementation Plans. These are the action oriented implementation plans that need to be prepared by the provincial governments in light of the federal policy. This stage follows the finalisation and approval of the policy.

1.3 The consultation process

‘Consultation’ remained the dominant theme during the entire policy review process. The White Paper has an appendix (Annex I) detailing the consultative process, which comprised nine pages. This appendix describes the whole process, its various stages, the different forums for consultation, the stakeholders and the outcomes. The

Attachment II of the Annex I lists 27 stakeholders which were consulted during the policy review process. Most of the interviewees were appreciative of the consultation process and some considered it quite unique and probably the first such activity in the history of policy making in Pakistan. A representative of the donor agency who participated at various stages offered the following comment:

‘I got the impression that this kind of consultation was unique, I felt that not much consultation has been carried out [in the past].’ (Don20)

Another member of the donor community who has a long experience of working in Pakistan said:

‘Well, I have to say that this probably the first time we’ve seen a highly consultative process for development of any policy. An elaborate process was engaged by the Ministry of Education The stakeholders, the interviews, I mean that was a district wide processes where the show went on road, so to speak and provinces and districts were taken into confidence on this particular issue.’ (Don14)

Highlighting the consultation at the lower levels a member of the NEPR team talked about the uniqueness of the consultation process.

‘... district consultation, this was done for the first time in the history of Pakistan, because in all the past policies the districts were never consulted, never taken on board, but this time we selected at least 30-33% of the districts [White Paper claims it to be 25%]. The team went into the field and not only stayed at the headquarter of the district but in the far flung areas of that district, in remote areas, rural areas.’ (PRT1a)

The rationale behind a wide consultation is to ensure the ownership of various stakeholders. The Ministry of Education’s website asserts that:

‘The NEPR team embarked on a comprehensive process of consultation and pursued a structured methodology. To ensure that the policy review document is owned by all stakeholder, far and wide it was intended to

make the review process intensively and extensively.’
(www.moe.gov.pk/nepr, accessed 20th April 2009)

The ownership is felt necessary as some of the interviewees told me that over the years the provinces have given lesser attention to federal policies, so much so that the White Paper claims that the previous policy of 1998 could not even be found in district offices of the education.

Through examination of the White Paper, the relevant pages of the website of the Ministry of Education and the interviews with stakeholders it emerges that the NEPR team used the following forums for the consultation process for policy review:

- Meetings
- Field visits
- Conferences
- Roundtables
- Internet

I will now detail each of the above forums in terms of how these forums were convened and what kind of participation generated through these consultations. In the end I will try to elaborate on ‘what was being achieved through these various forums for consultation?’

1.3.1 Meetings

According to the White Paper, the NEPR team started the review process by engaging in discussion with the Vice Chancellors of the established public and private sector universities over the past education policy and present challenges of education in general. The information provided at the Ministry of Education’s website further suggests that the NEPR team went to all the provincial capitals and met with the Governors, Chief Ministers, Provincial Education Ministers, Provincial Education Secretaries and senior officials of Provincial Education Departments.

These initial meetings were apparently for two reasons; first to familiarise the NEPR team with the education policy issues and second to build confidence between federal and provincial governments and departments of education about the policy review. The leader of the NEPR and so as some other members of the NEPR team also lacked expert knowledge on educational issues, although they might have had public policy experience in general. This concern was raised by a member of the NEPR team and also by an academic. We have already seen that the team leader did not claim expertise over the subject matter of education, rather he claimed public policy experience.

‘I’m sorry to say that the choice of people within the Policy Review Team was not right, they were not related to education sector, rather they were simple bureaucrats. Somebody who knows the educational process and pillars of quality education would be better.’ (PRT1)

‘Apart from [REDACTED], even [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] did not have awareness of the teaching learning process. Therefore you can’t expect their recommendations to be technically sound. White Paper shows that they had good literature review but their professional understanding is different [weak]. Since they are not familiar with technical matters their recommendations are loose.’ (Acad8, identities blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

The initial meetings must have raised the level of understanding of the team about specific educational issues. The initial meetings with the ministers and officials of the provinces must have also developed a rather stronger sense of the participation. The White Paper claims that the road map of policy review was developed in consultation with the provincial governments and finally approved by the federal minister. The consultation over the review process at the outset appears to be an effective methodology by the NEPR team in building provincial-federal confidence over the education policy issue. The provinces would be more likely to participate in the review and implement the subsequent policies if they had a sense of ownership and participation. Later in the process another set of meetings was initiated, not necessarily as a formal stage but as a continuing process during the review. This set

of meetings focused on consulting with prominent public and private organisations and, importantly, with the group of donor agencies.

The prominent organisations consulted by the NEPR team and that were named in the White Paper include: the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI), Public Service Commission, Higher Education Commission (HEC), National Vocational and Technical Education Commission (NAVTEC), Aga Khan University – Institute for Educational Development (AKU-IED). In this list apart from IED and the FPCCI the consulted organisations were from the public sector.

The most important single group that was regularly consulted during the review period was the Donors Education Group (DEG). The White Paper reports that some 6 meetings were held between the NEPR team and the DEG over the period of 12 months between July 2005 and June 2006. During the interviews the donors indicated their sense of satisfaction over their involvement in the review process. The White Paper acknowledges the contribution of the donors and takes account of their comments. However, the team leader of the NEPR insisted that the donors were consulted like any other group and were not given any privileged position during the review process.

‘I made it clear to everyone that this is an education policy of the state of Pakistan for the people of Pakistan. Therefore, yes we had interaction with all stakeholders including the donors’ group, like others, everyone else. But they had absolutely no role to play in the [production of White Paper].’ (PRT11)

Despite above assertion there is a good deal of evidence that contradicts this statement (Ahsan, 2005; R. Malik, 2007). We know that donors have a significant influence on the education policy of Pakistan as they substantially finance the education development (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2005, , 2008). The team leader himself acknowledged:

‘Donors in the sector of education play an extremely important role because they are a major supplier of resources. Therefore they definitely have a lot of influence.’ (PRT11)

Another NEPR team member reported that donors generally appreciated their participation during the policy review and felt included, which was also considered strategically important.

‘...there was this conference in [REDACTED] about Sector Wide Approaches last year, it was a conference which was organised in collaboration with six-seven major donors in the education sector. This was something that was unanimously appreciated by the donors saying that this was the first time ever that the Government of Pakistan involved us in the policy formulation exercise. You see, donors have very strategic effects on the implementation of the policy, they are one of the funding partners. So it [consultation] was very important and they had been neglected previously in all policy formulation processes. It was very heartening to see it coming from them, appreciating that this was the first time they were also involved.’ (PRT4a, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

The donors commented on the Green Papers and the White Paper both verbally during their meetings with the NEPR team and in writing. These comments were also initially individual but later at the stage of White Paper they became collective:

‘So overall, at the green papers’ stage the donors responded as a single document and later at the White Paper stage donors provided individual responses, which were compiled by [REDACTED] as a collective response that has individual appendices attached.’ (Don20, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

1.3.2 Field visits

The NEPR team visited 25% districts in each province during the diagnostic stage (see figure above for stages). The Ministry of Education’s website describes the district visits as follows:

‘Field visits to selected Districts were undertaken after selecting a representative sample of 25% Districts from each Province in consultation with the Provincial Education Departments. The NEPR team held one on one meetings, in-depth interviews, participatory dialogues, consultations and focus group discussions with teachers, students, parents, education managers, EDOs, AEDOs, District Nazims, women, civil society organizations, religious activists and rural communities.’ (www.moe.gov/nepr, accessed 21st April 2009).

The NEPR team considered the district consultation as the distinctive feature of this policy review, which had never been attempted before. One of the members of the NEPR describes the field visits in the following terms:

‘... district consultation, this was done for the first time in the history of Pakistan, because in all the past policies the districts were never consulted, never taken on board, but this time we selected at least 30-33% of the districts [25% according to White Paper]. The team went into the field and not only stayed at the headquarter of the district but in the far flung areas of that district, in remote areas, rural areas. Every Executive District Office was keen to show their best schools, we said we don’t need to see the best schools, take us to the worst schools so that we may come to know the problems that we face in Pakistan in the education. These districts were not selected by ourselves ... we asked the provincial governments who were the actual stakeholders in the provinces that we need districts at the lowest, some districts at the highest developed at your province and some mediocre, so that we have a mixed view of the problems that people see. In this round of field visits we had not prepared any draft policy document for the new policy, but we started from the scratch, please tell us what are the issues you are facing in your area, in different areas. Then we consolidated those issues that what are those issues. The next question that we normally had, what are the possible solutions or recommendations if you can think, if no then its ok but if you have some solutions then also tell us and give us feedback on what are the possible ways of addressing these problems.’ (PRT1a)

According to the White Paper the NEPR team visited 25% of districts in each province. These districts were chosen to ensure an optimal mix of different types of school and their geographical breadth. Thus 10 districts from Punjab, 8 from Sindh, 7 from Baluchistan and 6 from North West Frontier Province (NWFP) were visited. The full list is available in the White Paper (Annex I, p. 63)

The purposes of the district consultation appear to be three fold. Firstly the importance of districts in the context of devolution in Pakistan made it essential to reach out to the districts. Second, administrative devolution made the districts the main hub of policy delivery and thus for policy to be successful district ownership was essential. Thus consulting districts was intended to build shared ownership towards the policy from the outset. Thirdly, there seems to have been a genuine attempt by the NEPR team to understand the reality of provision on the ground and that made district visits essential. The White Paper summarises the purpose of field visits as follows:

‘the purpose [of district visits] was to sensitize the compulsions behind the policy review, to underline the centrality of the provincial and district governments in service delivery in the education sector and the need for ownership of the policy’ (White Paper, p. 63).

Most of the people who were interviewed during the research signalled appreciation of the wider consultation carried out by the NEPR team and their willingness to go to the district field visits. It is important to note here that I could not interview any district officials for this research. There were, however, two interviewees who raised some concerns about the consultations at the grassroots level:

‘Government never engage community in policy, neither for any other work nor for policy making. They do broad consultation of like-minded which does not represent society. There is no engagement of parents and children. These limited consultations cannot be generalised because different union councils and provinces differ with each other. Therefore I would say that the policy consultations was neither participatory nor consultative.’ (NGO9)

‘At the district level nobody mentions of new policy or the White Paper, not much is talked about it. So it raises the question of ownership at local level.’ (Don20)

Despite these concerns an overall sense of satisfaction was expressed by the interviewees over the consultative approach of the policy. One of the members from

the donor community commented that a policy cannot take all the suggestions on board, it has to be selective for the greater good. With that caveat the field visits did seem to have achieved their intended purpose of including the districts in the process to some extent.

1.3.3 Conferences

Educational conferences were organised by the NEPR team with the support of provincial, federal and area¹² governments for involving stakeholders at various levels and in various geographical locations. We can categorise these conferences into two types: the provincial and area government education conferences; and the national education conference. Overall there were seven such conferences on various issues dealing with education policy. Apart from the national conference which was a two day conference, all other conferences were one-day conferences. The detail of these conferences is as below:

Table 6: Details of education conferences and discussed themes

Date	Education Conference	Themes Discussed
February 18, 2006	Azad Jammu Kashmir Education Conference, Islamabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Challenges in Primary and Middle Education- Challenges in Secondary and Tertiary Education- Issues in Education Management- Role of Area Governments in National Education Policy
March 18, 2006	Sindh Education Conference, Karachi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Education Management- Teachers for Quality Education- Assessments

¹² Area governments refers to the areas in Pakistan which are federally administered like the Azad Jammu Kashmir (AJK), Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA) and Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT).

		- Curriculum and Text Book Policy
April 5, 2006	Baluchistan Education Conference, Quetta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Role of Government in Education Delivery: Challenges of Access, Equity and Quality - Issues in finding a Good Teacher - Equity and Quality - Education Management
May 2, 2006	Punjab Education Conference, Lahore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Inter Tier Issues in Education: Role of Federal, Provincial and Local Governments - Curriculum and Text Book Policy Issues - Challenges in Teachers' Professional Development - The 'Public' and 'Private' Sector in Education: Scope, Roles and Responsibilities - Governance and Management
May 30-31, 2006	National Education Conference, Islamabad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Governance and Management - Quality and Standards in Education I: Curriculum and Textbooks - Quality and Standards in Education II: Teacher Education and Assessment - Parallel Systems and Streams in Education Sector in Pakistan - Relevance of Education
July 12, 2006	Islamabad Capital Territory Education Conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - School based Governance - Curriculum Process: Strengths and Weaknesses - Issues Related to Head Teachers: Inspection, Supervision and Capacity Building

		- Assessment of Students
July 17, 2006	NWFP and FATA Education Conference, Peshawar	- Purpose of Education - Literacy and Non Formal Education - Education Financing - Medium of Instruction at Primary Level - Issues of Education in FATA

The following points should be noted in the above table. In the first place, the conferences were held roughly one month apart. Secondly, the conferences were held in the provincial or federal capital areas: Karachi, Lahore, Quetta and Peshawar are provincial capitals of Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan and NWFP provinces respectively. Islamabad is the federal capital. Thirdly, selected themes were considered in each of the conferences. Fourthly, it is surprising to see that the National Education Conference was held before having conferences in the NWFP and Islamabad Capital Territory. It might be anticipated that the National conference would be the culmination of the provincial and area governments' conferences, but that was not the case here.

The Ministry of Education's website suggests that the themes for each of the conferences were worked out in consultation with the respective provincial or area government's department of education. The dominant themes were 'educational governance and management'; 'issues to deal with curriculum' and 'issues dealing with teachers and teaching'. The national education conference deliberated on the broad themes of: governance, quality, access, equity and relevance of education. These themes subsequently appear as the major chapters within the White Paper.

The Ministry of Education's website declares following to be the major objectives of the provincial conferences:

- Create provincial ownership

- Provide a forum to every Province to openly debate their Province-specific issues and problems related to education
- Ensure broad-based participation of a diverse group of stakeholders from all walks of life
- Improve collaboration/coordination between the Ministry of Education and Provincial Education Departments
- Bring together representatives both from the Public and Private sector and explore avenues of their partnership in the revised Policy
- Inform the NEPR Team and enhance their understanding of the contours of Province-specific problems

Each of the provincial conferences gathered a cross section of stakeholders belonging to the province representing various organisations in public and private sectors. The Ministry of Education's website claims that the Sindh education conference had around 150 participants, Punjab had 160 participants, Baluchistan had 120 participants and NWFP had 100 participants. Each provincial conference was attended by the provincial education Minister, by the education secretary and by the main officials of the education department. This legitimised the deliberations with provincial support. A typical format for the day long provincial or area education conference was to have an inaugural session with the minister and education secretaries followed by break up sessions on particular themes. Later the sub-groups reconvened to present their deliberations followed by concluding remarks by the representatives of NEPR team.

The national education conference was a major formal event, which probably had more symbolic value than substantive content. There were 500 delegates invited from across the country by the NEPR team to participate in the two day long deliberations. The first day of the conference began with the speeches of high profile government officials including the Chairman of the Senate, the Federal Education Minister and the NEPR team leader along with the keynote speech by an eminent scholar. This was followed by delegate discussion in five thematic groups. The Second day started with five plenary sessions by eminent educational scholars and

educationists. This was followed once again by discussion sessions. The concluding session of the day was chaired by the Prime Minister and comprised a keynote speech by an eminent Islamic scholar, a summing-up presentation by the Federal Education Minister and finally the concluding remarks by the Prime Minister.

Policy actors who were interviewed for the research and who either participated or were not invited to these conferences had mixed opinions about the deliberations of the conference. Some of these opinions are set out below:

‘I participated in donors’ meeting regularly. I also participated in the national consultation on policy review. There were some 200-300 people. The organisation of program was fairly standard, there were some speeches by Javed Ashraf Qazi [Minister of Education] and Shaukat Aziz [PM]. We then broke into number of groups. That was the best use of time to break into groups. A lot of it [national consultation proceedings] was in Urdu and I couldn’t follow. Shaukat Aziz and Qazi spoke in Urdu, Javed Gamdi spoke in Urdu and had a lot of applause by audience. Break out sessions were also in Urdu. I got the impression that this kind of consultation was unique, I felt that not much consultation has been carried out [in the past].’ (Don20)

‘The national consultation for policy review was very controlled. Some of the civil society members who were coincidentally the member of [redacted] were also invited for example [redacted]. They knew the situation at the grassroots level. There was group work during consultation, in which people (civil society representatives) put forward recommendations. Surprisingly many of the recommendations that were agreed during the group work were not presented during later presentation. The group leaders were government people.... Because of the mistreatment of the recommendations put forward by the members during consultation in groups, we called a meeting ... We wrote down our recommendations which were then sent to AEPAM (Academic of Education Planning and Management) [place where NEPR team was based]. Some of these recommendations were picked up by the Policy Review Team We can at least say that some of our recommendations were taken up but that was not through broad consultation but from our written report.’ (NGO9, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

‘... they hold provincial conference and they called only one person from our institute but 3-4 people from [redacted] went. They consulted widely but

were not receptive to recommendations. They are not willing to go further widely. Those who agree to their point of view, they make them the group moderator [during conference break up sessions].... 3rd level consultation held in Islamabad and it had same modus operandi i.e. breaking into groups where delegates reflected on particular issues and put forward their recommendations. There should be some preparation prior to group work. I found group leaders and many people not relevant to the field and therefore their reflections are not technically sound.... For example [redacted] was there and [redacted] also had tough experience in the group that she was in and I also agree with her. They were not very receptive to suggestions. They rather consulted mechanically but had had a clear predetermined mindset of their own.’ (Acad8, identities blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

‘For example, in provincial consultations I wasn’t invited, we as an organisation, why? Why? I mean why did you invited us in national one and not in the provincial one, when you knew also that if you were going to get us involved in the roundtables you were going to listen to [our comments] on Green Papers, so on and so forth. So why [not in provincial consultations]? We don’t know who was invited and why were they invited, we have no idea.’ (NGO17)

‘In fact the National Education Conference was held in 2006 bringing together an auditorium full of stakeholders, breaking out into sub-groups to discuss and thrash out the issues. So they get people to talk I think, people became concerned though that everyone’s voice wasn’t listened to and people were writing whatever they wanted to write anyway. I think that’s not necessarily too fair, I think not everyone’s voice is going to get included into a policy document. A lot of great ideas but maybe some are just, for a greater good (smile), may not be included. Necessarily, the best ideas are put in the policy document. So I want to say, it was really good.’ (Don14)

Overall the evidence from the interviews is that people were largely happy with the broader consultation exercise but expressed scepticism about the final recommendations that would be adopted in the policy. One of the interviewees reflected back on his experience of participating in the 1998 education policy review and said that the longer the policy drafts take to develop the greater the chances are that the desired government policy is pushed into the policy rather than views gathered from the consultation (NGO7).

1.3.4 Roundtables

The issue based consultations were organised by the NEPR team during the prescriptive stage. These consultations were referred to as roundtables. The White Paper lists ten such roundtables on various educational issues between May and July 2006. The list of the roundtables with their dates is reproduced below from the White Paper (p. 64):

1. Vision, Purpose and Objectives of Education, 15-May-06
2. Literacy and Non Formal Education, 25-May-06
3. Round Table Discussions on Early Childhood Education, 10-June-2006
4. Gender and Education, 12-June-06
5. Teacher Education and Accreditation, 21-June-06
6. Consultation with Sustainable Policy Development Institute and Pakistan Coalition for Education, 7-June-06
7. Regulation of Madrassa Education, 22- June 2006
8. Technical Education and Vocational Training with JICA, 6-July-06
9. Technical and Vocational Education and Market Linkages, 15-July-06
10. Higher Education, 26-August-06

The major objectives of these roundtable consultations were to deliberate on a particular educational issue and invite expert opinions and recommendations for the policy review. The roundtables were also assisted by donors and other organisations which were acknowledged in the website of the Ministry of Education. Roundtables 2-5 were supported by UNESCO, roundtable 6 was supported by the British High Commission, and roundtable 7 was supported by JICA. The other roundtables were organised by the Ministry of Education and other public sector bodies like NAVTEC and HEC. The NEPR also acknowledged the support of Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industries (FPCCI) in holding the roundtables.

Participation in these events also varied. Based on the information available from the Ministry of Education's website, attendance figures ranged between 16 and 35.

Typically a roundtable was organised like a mini conference with an inaugural session sometimes addressed by experts, followed by discussion on selected themes and concluded by presenting the group recommendations to the NEPR team for consideration. I was able to scrutinise the reports of four roundtables which were organised by UNESCO. A brief summary of other roundtables is provided at the Ministry of Education's website.

The roundtables can be seen as a form of influence used by various organisations to push their preferences in the upcoming policy. The roundtables do seem to have had an effect the NEPR team's perception on the communications issued during these roundtable events. For example a roundtable was facilitated by UNESCO for the NEPR team on the subject of 'Early Childhood Education' (ECE) on 10th June in Islamabad. The participants in the roundtable made several recommendations to the NEPR team through general discussion followed by a written report of the proceedings. By looking at the recommendations put forward by the roundtable participants and the relevant section of the Thematic Papers (Thematic Paper on Access to Education, pp. 7-8), it can be seen that the recommendations are almost identical. However, one also needs to be cautious about assuming their influence because when we move to the relevant section of the White Paper (PP. 37-38) we can see that not all recommendations made their way into the final recommendations. Certain recommendations have been sifted out while others have been adopted.

The Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) supported by the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF) prepared a thick document (101 pages) to inform the policy review. The report of SDPI is entitled 'Critical issues in education policy: a citizens' review of the National Education Policy 1998-2010' (A. H Nayyar & Salim, 2006). The report was prepared based on the consultation of SDPI with various organisations across the country and put forward policy recommendations on various themes of education. The roundtable with SDPI was focused on the presentation of the highlights of this report and was presented to the NEPR, thus seeking to influence the policy review. If we look the recommendations of the SDPI review along with relevant sections of the Thematic Papers and the White Paper, we

can make some interesting observations. Looking at the issue of examination/assessment system the SDPI review (pp. 49-51) recommended the establishment of National Examination Council (NEC) for maintaining centralised standards. It also recommended that the examinations should be based on curriculum rather than textbooks. The two recommendations made their way into the relevant Thematic Papers recommendations (Thematic Paper on Quality of Education, pp. 16-18). However, the Thematic Papers do not suggest that these recommendations come from SDPI. They appear from different sources and also make their way to the final White Paper (p. 26, recommendations 3 and 9). This means that certain recommendations came from various sources and made their way from different routes into the policy. It is likely that SDPI had an indirect influence on policy recommendations.

It is important to note the influences, however, it cannot be said with certainty how a particular influence made its way into the policy. It is certainly a mediated process which also depends on the way the policy settlements were achieved and the bargaining processes carried out in the policy formulation and implementations. The team leader during the interview suggested that they looked for commonalities among various policy recommendations from different forums along with the practical possibilities allowed within government resources (PRT11).

1.3.5 Internet

One of the most distinctive features of the policy review process was use of the internet for updating the general public about the policy review process. A separate webpage was created within the Ministry of Education's website to show the review process. The home page graphically shows the review process and provides links to each stage and step of the process. The policy review pages are basically divided into three stages – diagnostic, prescriptive and the policy development stage. Each link provides the summary of that stage and explains the various processes that were carried out under each of the steps.

Most importantly the Green Papers, the White Paper and the Draft Policy paper have been uploaded and been updated whenever they change. Thus for example the first version of the White Paper was uploaded initially and later replaced with the revised version. Similarly the various drafts of final policy paper have been updated from time to time. The use of internet technology makes it possible to access important information related to the policy review process. It also allows access to the official documents produced during the review process which may not be accessible otherwise. It is also not a very common practice within various ministries of the government to keep the draft versions of the policy on the internet. In that sense it is quite unique of its own genre within the ministerial protocols of the Government of Pakistan.

1.3.6 What was being achieved through various consultative forums?

I have tried to explain various forums that were used by the NEPR team to consult stakeholders concerning education in Pakistan across the country. The mechanisms and deliberations within these forums are also described. It is now important to analyse what the NEPR was trying to achieve through these forums and whether it was successful.

All the interviewees irrespective of their position towards the review process acknowledge the high level of consultation carried out by the NEPR team. Some even consider it unlike any other ministry activity within the Government of Pakistan. The consultations were carried out by the NEPR team in order to:

- developing understanding of NEPR towards educational issues
- involving and building ownership in provinces and districts towards future policy
- taking account of the recommendations put forward by various stakeholders

Looking at the quality of the White Paper one does recognise the grip of its author over various education issues. Although some of the interviewees disagreed with the recommendations, the White Paper stands as a high quality document with credible

policy recommendations. The first version of the White Paper attracted some comments which were immediately addressed in the revised version. Generally the stakeholders that I interviewed appeared satisfied with the White Paper's recommendations. This showed that the consultation process the NEPR team laid out for the policy review did build expertise within the NEPR team to deal with education policy issues. The satisfaction of various policy actors also suggests that the White Paper through extensive consultations has managed to pull in support for its recommendations. In this sense the consultation strategy worked well for the NEPR team.

Whether or not the consultation process built ownership of policy within the provincial and district governments cannot be tested until the final policy paper comes out and implementation is attempted. However the first year of the policy review process up to the production of the White Paper did build a momentum whereby many education experts watched the policy review process closely, which might indicate the development of a positive attitude within the provinces towards policy. However, due to the departure of the NEPR team leader and subsequent delay in the policy pronouncement, the momentum was lost. During the interviews an educationist claimed that the draft of policy looks like a completely different document from what was proposed in the White Paper. In that case the ownership by the provinces and districts will remain doubtful, unless an effort is made to raise awareness towards the policy.

The consultation process mainly tried to collect various views on different education policy issues. It was quite successful in doing that as it generated a wealth of information from many sources. The data from district visits, conferences, roundtables and written and verbal comments of stakeholders were quite rich and extensive. In that sense the NEPR team did manage to build a sense of participation among various stakeholders towards the education policy. Whether this is sustained after a long lapse between the production of the White Paper and the final policy outcome still remain to be seen.

Stakeholder consultations also seem quite fashionable within the current policy environment. This indicates towards a joined-up governance rather than strong government approach. The consultations carried out by NEPR are representative of this genre of policy development.

1.4 Background research and working papers

1.4.1 Background researches

In addition to the consultations with various stakeholders, various background research and working papers were developed by the NEPR team. Three pieces of background research were carried out to inform the policy review. These were:

1. Review and Analysis of Previous Education Policies 1947-1998
2. Mapping of the constitutional and Legal Framework and Government of Pakistan's international commitments concerning education
3. How far the tangible targets in the National Education Policy 1998-2010 have been met and what were the reasons behind failing on other targets and initiatives.

The summary reports of the first and second research study are attached in the appendices of the White Paper as Annex IV (pp. 77-78, 83-91) and Annex V (pp. 79-81). The summary report of third research is not available with the White Paper. During the field visits to the Ministry of Education in Pakistan I tried to get access to these research studies but they were treated as internal documents and were not disclosed to me.

The first research study consulted ten documents which are considered as policy documents and which are as follows:

1. Report of the Pakistan National Educational Conference-1947
2. Report of the Second Pakistan Educational Conference-1951
3. Report of the National Commission on Education-1959

4. Report of the Commission on Students Problems and Welfare-1966
5. Proposals for New Education Policy-1969
6. New Education Policy-1970
7. Education Policy-1972-78
8. National Education Policy-1979
9. National Education Policy-1992
10. National Education Policy-1998-2010

These documents were analysed on various themes. A matrix was produced and attached with the White Paper under Annex IV. The above policies were analysed on following themes:

1. Vision, Objectives and Aims
2. Primary/Secondary Education and School Management
3. Higher Education
4. Medium of Instruction
5. Religious & Madrassah Education
6. Preparation of Syllabi and writing Textbooks
7. Gender and Education
8. Private Education (not for profit, Elite and low paid schools)
9. Literacy and Non Formal Education
10. Technical, Vocational and Special Education
11. Teacher and Staff (other than Teachers) Trainings, Service conditions and Education Management
12. Political scenario or environment with special emphasis on student/teacher politics and campus atmosphere
13. Financing/Costing in Education

The study was conducted by external consultants, who tried to report the stance taken by past education policies on the above issues. The summary also suggests that the consultants were keen on bringing in the cumulative knowledge developed through past policies and to build on them while working for the new policy.

The second research study was also conducted by external consultants. The focus of study was to evaluate the legal system governing the education system in Pakistan both nationally and internationally. The consultants looked at various international conventions that were ratified by Pakistan or were in process and which are legally binding for education policy in Pakistan. Internationally there are around 20 conventions which have direct or indirect bearing on education policy in Pakistan. Five of them have direct and seven of them have an indirect bearing on education policy. Eight other conventions are yet to be ratified and will have a bearing on education.

Nationally there are 271 federal and provincial statutes that have a bearing on education. The consultants in their report highlight the vagueness of legal instruments dealing with education and suggest that education policy requires the support of legal instruments for effective implementation. Although the current national legislative framework is not helpful, it does provide an opportunity to develop a comprehensive legal structure dealing with education.

1.4.2 Green Papers

The NEPR team prepared short briefing papers on various education issues, which they referred to as Green Papers. In total 23 Green Papers were compiled and widely circulated to various stakeholders in education. One of the Green Papers on ‘education in emergencies’ was produced by *Idara Taleem-o-Agahi* (ITA) and adopted by the NEPR team consisting of 6 pages. All other 22 Green Papers ranged between 1-4 pages in length. The list of 23 Green Papers attached to Annex I of the White Paper is reproduced below:

1. Vision and Objectives of Education
2. Access
3. Assessments
4. Defining Quality Education
5. Early Childhood Education

6. Education Financing
7. Education Statistics
8. Education in Emergencies
9. Equity in Education
10. Gender and Education
11. Higher Education
12. Information Technology, Communication and Education
13. Inter Tier Responsibilities in the Education Sector
14. Literacy and Non Formal Education
15. Primary Education
16. Private Sector in Education
17. Science Education
18. School Management
19. School Environment
20. Secondary Education
21. Sector Planning and Management
22. Teachers (Training and Accreditation)
23. Textbooks and Learning Materials

Each Green Paper briefly provides the background to an educational issue, then produces a situation analysis of that issue followed by some questions intended to provoke debate. According to the leader of NEPR, the Green Papers did not put forward a solution rather initiated the debate:

‘Before we started these consultations we also ventured for the first time, the terminology in Pakistan as having Green Papers. We identified a number of issues involved in education, say a couple of dozen or so of the important and we had Green Papers prepared on these issues. The Green Papers basically gave a background of the issue, the present situation and the questions involved. It consciously shied away from providing any draft answers at that stage, on purpose. So the purpose was not to influence the mind of the responder and the Green Papers were very widely disseminated and we tried to obtain the views of all the people.’ (PRT11)

Elaborating further on the purpose of Green Papers the team leader of the NEPR said,

‘...the purpose of the Green Papers was to make sure that the discussions remain logical and organised. That means you have already clearly defined the problem, the present situation and the question now involved in it, therefore the discussion should revolve around those questions. Otherwise they get to go away in tangents, they become very tangential when you start discussions. So to keep the discussions organised and focused we prepared those Green Papers.’ (PRT11)

The production of Green Papers significantly shaped the review and subsequent White Papers. The Green Papers were used as springboards for debate during district, provincial and national consultations. Later the White Paper was also shaped thematically rather than by sector, and this appears to follow from Green Papers’ thematic approach. Previously education policy in Pakistan generally used to provide policy guidelines sector-by-sector, however the White Paper provides the policy recommendations thematically. The subsequent drafts of policy continued these thematic categories:

‘The public policy particularly in education can be pursued either sub-sectorally taking out primary education, school education, secondary education, college education, then university education. And then to talk about each of these sub-sectors and make recommendations. We instead, for the first time, approached it thematically, as you will find that it is management, it is governance, it is quality, it is relevance, from approaching of different themes within each theme we addressed each sector, instead of within each sector addressing each theme.’ (PRT11)

The Green Papers attracted comments from all stakeholders. Some gave formal comments, for example some of the donors I interviewed sent their formal written comments to the NEPR team based on Green Papers. In that way the Green Papers may be understood as a successful strategy adopted by the NEPR team to encourage wide discussions on thematic issues.

Looking at the White Paper and its stylistic change compared to the earlier policies, it seems that the Green Papers and ensuing discussion played the role of agenda setting and all subsequent discussion and policy recommendations revolved around it. The earlier policies were following educational levels as policy domains, while the White Paper present policy recommendations in thematic order. This is a significant discursive shift, which allude to changed policy environment which is more attuned to global policy genre.

1.4.3 Thematic Papers

The broad consultations through various forums generated a large amount of policy relevant data. These data were then compiled into broad educational themes with further sub-categories. These theme based compilations prior to the production of the White Paper were referred as Thematic Papers by the NEPR team. Six Thematic Papers were produced as follows:

1. Vision and Purpose of Education
2. Governance and Management of Education
3. Quality of Education
4. Access in Education
5. Equity in Education
6. Relevance of Education

The thematic Papers were internal and had limited circulation and apart from their titles no detail is offered about them in the White Paper. However, the White Paper does explain that the Thematic Papers ‘bring together the context, past policy provisions, key issues, recommendations and strategies for all the topics being tackled in the new Education Policy’ (p. 64). I was able to access the documents for the purposes of my research.

The compilation is referred to as ‘Thematic Papers: national education policy review process 2005-2006’. The authorship on the title page does not single out any name rather refers to National Education Policy Review Team as the author. The document

has seven sections. The first one is entitled ‘The consultative process and methodology’ and is followed by six sections on each of the Thematic Papers listed above.

The process methodology section gives an overview of the review process and further details about the policy review as are also attached in the appendices of the White Paper. Each Thematic Paper is further sub-divided into relevant sub-themes. Under each sub-theme a brief context of the issue is provided followed by past policy provisions related to that issue. Then the key policy challenges are highlighted followed by a list of recommendations. With some variation this is the typical format of all the Thematic Papers.

The most striking thing about the Thematic Papers is their referencing. Nearly all statements concerning context, policy challenges and recommendations are referenced to their source in an endnote. Thus for example a recommendation about redressing overlap between roles and responsibilities in the provincial and district governments is made under the theme of governance. This is then referenced to the source which suggests that it originates from the National Education Conference. This shows the effort made by NEPR team to incorporate various suggestions and also reference them to the source for the purpose of illustrating transparency. During the discussion with the team leader of NEPR it was also revealed that the Thematic Papers document was made available to the provinces. In that way it was also used as a consensus building mechanism, in which policy developments were seen to be referenced properly to their source.

1.5 The Current policy review process in relation to the past policy review processes

It is important to see the current review process that has been described earlier in detail in relation to the past review processes for formulating education policies in Pakistan. This is important in order to identify the uniqueness or otherwise of the

process that is the topic of this research. For this purpose the following documents that are regarded as past education policies by the White Paper were consulted:

1. Report of the Pakistan National Educational Conference-1947
2. Report of the Second Pakistan Educational Conference-1951
3. Report of the National Commission on Education-1959
4. Report of the Commission on Students Problems and Welfare-1966
5. New Education Policy-1970
6. Education Policy-1972-80
7. National Education Policy-1979
8. National Education Policy-1992
9. National Education Policy-1998-2010

The White Paper in Annex I, Attachment IV produces a summary of past education policies from 1947-1998. The highlights of each process are given. Instead of repeating these here, I will look how they illustrate the broad trends and norms for formulating education policy in Pakistan.

Overall, we can see a trend of growing participation of organisations and institutions other than governments in the policymaking process since 1992. Thus policy and planning for education in the period 1947-1992 was carried out exclusively by government officials, and only later included people from outside government – individuals, organisations, institutions etc. The earlier policies had much more input from the so called ‘street level bureaucrats’ (Lipsky, 1980). That means that the early development of policy and planning through conferences (for example in 1947, 1951) involved many practitioners from across the country. They did not attempt to build any public interest but seemed more focused on the practical implementation of policy. Compared to this the 1998 policy has moved into a different mode, with a good deal of activity aimed at shaping public opinion, while reducing the involvement of the street level bureaucrats – the implementers.

The first two policy guidelines came in the form of resolutions following Education Conferences in 1947 and 1951. In 1959 and in 1966 we see the reports of the Educational Commission. Policies announced in 1970 and 1972 emerged with very little participation and were mainly the statements of the government in charge. In contrast the 1992 and 1998 policies appear to be policies more concerned with ensuring public participation and political support than with technical soundness and practical implementation.

Education policies in the 1947 and 1951 Education Conferences were introduced in ways that indicated the influence of the professional experts. Highly expert and select sub committees were formed, which deliberated on particular issues. The recommendations of these sub committees were later brought to the plenary sessions for further debate and subsequently passed in the form of conference resolutions. The 1951 conference also approved a Six Year Education Development Plan. The delegates for this conference were all from the government sector and there is hardly any outside voice represented, thus indicating the extent to which this policy sphere is seen to be in the hands of government and an internal matter. The Conferences were used as platforms where various proposals were considered by sub committees, which were then further debated and finally approved.

In the 1959 and 1966 Commission Reports, policy appears as a fact finding mission. A very select group of people, related to education, but apparently independent of the Ministry of Education were given the task of gathering information on various educational issues and of proposing recommendations. The commission also included representatives of the armed forces, indicating political control at that time. The 1959 report on education fed into the Second Five Year Plan in 1960 of the Government of Pakistan. The Commission's reports were submitted to the President and subsequently approved. Once approved, they become *de facto* policy guidelines.

In 1970 and 1972 policy we see that the government felt no need to consult wider interests and it is clear that it felt confident in exerting its authority in this sphere. Policy is presented starkly, with no gestures towards the consultation process or,

indeed, any attempt to create a discursive setting for policy. The text has no preface, introduction or initial explanations about the policy process. The policy proposals themselves are quite draconian, for example the nationalisation of private educational institutions with minimal or no consultations.

In the 1979, 1992 and 1998 policies we see attempts by the government to use education policy as a political tool and for its political objectives. Irrespective of the policy, the process of policy making was devised so as to appear democratic and raise public support for the government. In 1998 for example, the prime minister held a national education convention and announced it in a live television broadcast. Generally on all these occasions, the salient features of forthcoming policy were released along with some initial policy proposals. This was followed by various consultations and feedback gathering processes. Cabinet Committees were also created for considering the proposals and suggestions and finally approving the policy. The announcement of policy was also used as an occasion to gain political leverage.

In light of the past policy making processes, the current review can be understood as attempting to work with the apparently progressive style in previous policy processes. As in the 1959 and 1966 Commission the NEPR team is a task bound and ad hoc body supported by the Education Ministry. The fact that the team leader appreciates the 1947 and 1959 policies, suggests that he tried to follow those principles of consultations. However, we also see a desire in the NEPR team to engage many segments of population related to education. The NEPR team talks about many unique and fresh ideas of consultation that were first attempted in this policy review. For example a member points out that at this time no policy proposal was prepared in advance, rather a set of Green Papers to encourage open public debate. The team also stresses that for the first time they included district level education departments in the policy formulation. The team talks about various levels of consultations which I noted earlier – meetings, conferences, roundtables, research and the internet. Above all the concept of issuing a White Paper is a historic

departure in policy making history in education in Pakistan. The team leader summed up the uniqueness of the process as follows:

‘It was the first time that we said that the public policy should be an evolutionary exercise, not a top down inquisition of some wisdom exclusively held by a few individuals or an agenda being pursued by some. It must reflect the demand, the needs, the aspirations, hope and fears of the people, and on the basis of ascertaining what really the people want and then discussing those needs with the entire spectrum of stakeholders.’ (PRT11)

It should be interrogated that why was such a unique policy process employed. A consultative process appears more inclusive and legitimate, which is more likely to achieve compliance. Such inclusivity and legitimacy become important when it is considered essential to attract international assistance and appease existing donors. In addition the national NGOs and provincial governments also feel more involved and less likely to create hurdles for policy recommendations, of which they were the consultative partners.

2 Practices of actors during consultative process

2.1 The participants for consultation

There is a long and exhaustive list of stakeholders (Annex I, Attachment II), who were consulted during the policy review process. The list contains twenty seven (27) different stakeholders that the team claim to have consulted. The list includes almost every possible stakeholders that need to be consulted. It includes educational officials at various levels, community members, parents, students, industry, academia, private sectors, NGOs, donors, madrasa representatives, associations etc. The discussion with NEPR team members reveal that they attempted to consult the widest range of people concerning education using various forums.

‘We have consulted teachers, students, educationists, retired people, journalists .. you name it. We talked to everybody. There were

workshops held, there were visits to the districts, 35 districts were visited.’ (F-MoE18)

The team spent some time initially in preparing the list of stakeholders that need consultations. The list was gradually refined, a member of the review team explains:

‘Broadly we developed this list [of stakeholders]. It was an exhaustive list. Every stakeholder that we consulted, we shared that list with them and asked if they like to identify any other, and so the people were added.... There were always additions in that list. The initially prepared list for example had fifty sixty group of stakeholders. Then we had to cut some which were not relevant. ... At the prescriptive stage, we identified that ‘ok, now we don’t want to meet with general stakeholders, we want to meet with the specific ones’. Because by that time in the process we were at some kind of a decisive point, we knew who were relevant for which chapters. We consulted for each chapter, different stakeholders.’ (PRT4a)

Despite this, NEPR team agree that they cannot claim that they met all different kinds of stakeholders at every province but they did try to meet a range of people in various provinces.

‘I think there may be variation in the number of persons met at any single place or at any single district. Certainly the team was not able to meet each and every type of stakeholder at every place but we tried to meet on the whole at country level. For example the teacher associations in the private sector and in the public sector, we could not meet them at each place but at some provincial headquarter where their representatives were available or even in some districts for example in Khairpur and Larkana incidentally.’ (PRT1a)

Politicians did not feature in the list and the NEPR team leader explained that some politicians did not attend consultative meetings because they were suspicious of the government’s agenda:

‘I consulted every political party of the country also. It’s the first time that it was done, I send them copies of Green Papers and I asked them to let us have their view on it. Unfortunately each one of them was probably

suspicious that it was some secret government agenda and I did not get any formal response from any political party. I wrote under my own signature letters to prominent political leaders ...' (PRT11)

Some NGO members said that the NEPR team did not include people at grass roots level or just carried out token consultation without real participation.

'Government never engage community in policy, neither for any other work nor for policy making. They do broad consultation of like-minded which does not represent society. There is no engagement of parents and children. These limited consultations cannot be generalised because different union councils and provinces differ with each other. Therefore I would say that the policy consultations was not participatory and nor consultative. (NGO9)

This is contradicted by the list in the white Paper and in the interview data from the NEPR team and various other actors. One of the donor representatives said that policy consultations cannot involve all the various people.

'I understand that this is the first time that they have done this. So I think we can definitely point out areas of concerns but I don't think we should be too harsh because Pakistan has never done that before. That was a big step and the Minister, he wanted it to be a consultative process. And I'm hearing that people still talk about that, despite the voices are being heard and complaints. You'll hear such things in Pakistan for anything, "oh we didn't know and our information is not getting into blab bla bla" (smile).' (Don14)

2.2 The experience of participants vis-à-vis consultation for policy review

2.2.1 International and donor organisations

The representatives of international organisations and donor agencies who were interviewed for this research mainly expressed a positive view about the review process. Most of them appeared quite satisfied with the process that was followed for

the policy review and the consultative approach of the review team. Appreciating the uniqueness of the process, the representatives of international organisations said,

‘Well, I have to say that this probably the first time we’ve seen a highly consultative process for development of any policy. An elaborate process was engaged by the Ministry of Education and I’m not going to repeat them [showing the White Paper document], I’m sure you must have seen them. The stakeholders, the interviews, I mean that was a district wide processes where the show went on road, so to speak and provinces and districts were taken into confidence on this particular issue. On the various key areas of education – Green Papers were developed. I think the donors were engaged hugely in reading, commenting and providing feedback on the Green Papers.’ (Don14)

‘It was inclusively done with inputs of many stakeholders and development partners.’ (INGO24)

‘Approach of policy is good. Previous policies were developed by high ups without inviting stakeholders. This time, they had broad based consultations with stakeholders. It was a good process overall.’ (Don13)

They also expressed appreciation of the various means through which written and verbal feedback was generated from stakeholders belonging to the international organisations. This included the Green Papers, the White Paper and donor consultative group meetings with the Ministry of Education. All of them participated in the meetings and spoke positively about the meetings. Many of them made available their written comments on various Green Papers and the White Paper.

Interestingly, various donors combined to give an agreed response to the Green Papers and the White Paper. From my interviews I gather that they met together as a group to review the Green Papers first and gave their feedback as a single response (Don20). The donors also came together as a group to give their shared feedback to the White Paper, though this time their individual feedback statements were also included as an appendix to the combined feedback. One of the interviewees

interviewed for this research was responsible for forming the combined document, which was also made available to me (Don14).

Despite their positive feedback towards the overall policy review process, some of the international organisations did share their concerns generally and specifically.

‘Overall donors have fairly positive response. The White Paper has good contents and had followed a good process. But a lot is still needed to be questioned.’ (Don20)

More specifically a donor organisation which supports technical education indicated their view that the consultation for this area was not sufficient:

‘But on technical education, I don’t know if they conducted more [consultative] workshops other than Islamabad and one workshop is not enough. I don’t know how many consultations they made and how did they choose the participants for consultations. Especially from private sector in technical education the representation was not there’ (Don13)

There were regular meetings of the NEPR team with donors as a group up to the publication of the White Paper. However, following publication the meetings did not occur, or did not occur with everyone. As a result the international organisations did not know much about the updates on the policy review process and the finalisation of the policy. The developments and some restricted policy documents were shared with some donor agencies in confidence, but not through an open consultative forum as was the case earlier (Don14). Despite concerns the excerpt below represents the overall feeling in the donor community:

‘I understand that this is the first time that they have done this. So I think we can definitely point out areas of concerns but I don’t think we should be too harsh because Pakistan has never done that before. That was a big step...’ (Don14)

2.2.2 Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

The NGOs participants appeared quite sceptical of the policy review process. Some of them had problems related to the participants, which they think were not representative, while others talked about the way the recommendations were taken up by the review team. One of the major concerns of the NGOs was a lack of public debate utilising more public forums and channels, which could ensure more ground level participation and in the policy debate. They felt that the failure to organise public debate might be an attempt to manage participation and avoid dissent. The comments below by two interviewees reflect these sentiments:

‘We don’t know who was invited and why were they invited, we have no idea. There wasn’t transparency, there wasn’t a public debate on this. You know like there could be exclusive page [on policy], you know every day we have rubbish advertisements in papers, so why not one-pager given every once a week or one month to call people to comment on the policy. Why not? There should have been a public debate on it, they desperately need the culture of public debate.’ (NGO17)

‘Who organised the consultation is important. There is “workshop/seminar culture”, in which usually similar voices are invited for consultation and no dissent voices are heard.... Those who are not consulted – Bar council, Medical associations, teacher associations, Madaris and civil society in general as NGOs do not actually represent civil society. It was a “Controlled Participation”.’ (NGO3)

The above quotation by NGO3 directly contradicts what the NEPR team claims in the White Paper. In fact the list of participants attached in the appendix of the White Paper contains almost all of the above segments of population for consultation mentioned by the interviewee. Another sceptical interpretation offered by the NGOs was about the tendency of the government to allow participation, which could then be ignored. Participants indicated that there is not much known about the way the various policy suggestions were consolidated and it is quite likely that the government pursued its own decisions, thus making this consultative exercise redundant:

‘All these exercises (policy) are geared to provide the answers that you’ve already decided. You can consult me and yet ignore me. Also Nawaz Sharif [former Prime Minister] consulted on television and through letters [for 1998 policy]. But how was it processed, who worked on each issue is not known.’ (NGO16)

‘Some of the members of PCE [Pakistan Coalition for Education] have sat in the consultations process, for example [REDACTED], [REDACTED]. But unfortunately many of their recommendations haven’t been incorporated.’ (NGO2, identities blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

A member of the NGO reflecting on his previous policy consultation experience suspected that during the 1998 policy consultations, after many rounds of consultations, when the participants were exhausted, the government produced its own preferences (NGO7). Despite this suspicion the same person appeared positive about the current review process and found that ‘the process was good and well thought out’ and that the White Paper maintained ‘the internal consistency’ between various policy recommendations, which was lacking in 1998 policy (NGO7). Another member of the NGOs had positive views about the overall process, however she was not satisfied with the national level consultations, mainly because of the group moderator:

‘I think a lot of consultation went into this exercise, much more than we ever had [in earlier policies] ... and I think they also incorporated the ideas that people came up with, although I had some problems in the final consultation which took place in Islamabad. I was in the group where other NGOs were also there. It was headed by some government official who was very very apprehensive of the idea of all the latest models of education. We were trying to convince him and we also managed to get across our point When the presentation was made to the Prime Minister, most of the NGOs who were there in group wondered where were our recommendations. Because our recommendations were not included there... our recommendations were edited.’ (NGO22)

A very senior NGO person, who had worked for a long time in education and had also worked in government in very senior positions, talked positively about the policy, its process and the NEPR leader despite having some concerns.

‘I think [compared to the earlier policies] it was well planned and it was widely circulated. I think Javed sahib himself was very well equipped to write that kind of paper with his experience in the government, as a bureaucrat and being familiar of the mindset. I think it was a good effort.... It was defected, there were few things that I also pointed out, they reflected as much as they could because they had to take account of different views ... It was honest’. (NGO23)

2.2.3 Academics

The academics who were consulted for this research generally valued the participative and consultative nature of review process. They found it systematic compared to the earlier processes. However, they also raised concerns in terms of the participants and the value given to various participants in the final policy outcome.

The most positive comment came from an academic who has been consulted quite extensively at various stages of the policy process. Thus he found the consultation to be thorough. In his own words:

‘Every time government does try to engage with different people – stakeholders, civil service, private sectors. But one of the significant changes that we notice in the current process of education policy is that it is based on a systematic process.... Earlier the policy process used to be very linear process, there was no room to go back and revisit what had happened earlier. This time a lot of reiteration happened, a lot of re-entries happened, things changed as a result of discussions. So I would say that this was a more than consultative process. More than consultative in the sense that not just seeking advice, like if somebody is doing something and brought out an outsider to say yes or no to that. Here they really engaged in the discussions, they posed open ended questions rather than close ended. (Acad6a)

Three other academics who were interviewed were also appreciative of the open nature of the consultation (Acad8, Acad15, Acad25); however they raise certain caveats about the process. One of the academics expressed concern over the conduct of their participation and their receptiveness to the suggestions. He observed:

‘The review team did not consult us properly. They did not give us advance preparation time, I called my colleagues and they felt unprepared. [REDACTED] said we will do more consultation [with us] but never did.... They consulted widely but were not receptive to recommendations. They are not willing to go further widely. Those who agree to their point of view, they make them the group moderator [during national conference break up sessions].’ (Acad8, identity blacked out for ensuring anonymity)

The other academic raised two concerns regarding the consultation process. She stated that the most important question for consultation is to ask: ‘who were consulted? Were there people like me, were the parents consulted, was the community there?’ (Acad25). She stressed this point because the previous policy ignored the parents and the communities who in her view are the most important stakeholders. She also stressed the importance of establishing what happens in response to the consultations by examining the final policy:

‘... we do not know whatever came out as a result of the consultation, how did it put into the policy draft. From my previous experience of 1998-2010 policy consultation I know that lots of comments were made on the policy document, but we never saw them in the end. So I am not very sure, not sure even with this policy also.... So the process was fine but these questions do come to my mind.’ (Acad25)

There was no final policy outcome at the time of interviews, which took place after around a year from the publication of the White Paper. Academics interviewees were sceptical about the final outcome. They were appreciative of the efforts of the review team, its leadership and the White Paper; however, the departure of the team leader and the take over of the policy review by the Ministry of Education itself raised issues in their minds.

2.3 Feedback by the participants in response to the White Paper

This section will focus on the way the participants shared their responses in relation to the White Paper with the researcher. There are two ways the participants shared their comments, first through the interviews with the researcher and second, through

their written feedback to the NEPR team at the Ministry of Education. The researcher managed to obtain four such feedback statements, offered by organisations and their groupings.

2.3.1 Responses vis-à-vis White Paper through interviews

Generally the interviewees were appreciative of the White Paper, its recommendations and its leader. The process leading to the writing of the White Paper was considered thorough, systematic and well planned, although quite lengthy (Don20, INGO24, Acad6a, NGO23). When interviewees were further asked about their comments on the recommendations of the White Paper they did offer some critical comments, the most prominent of which was the absence of an implementation plan or a strategy to achieve targets (NGO9, Don14, NGO23). Further, some thought it was somewhat theoretical particularly in its initial pages (NGO22) and also criticised its lack of accessibility for users of the system (NGO17).

The other major concern in relation to the White Paper was the lack of background research and also the fact that insufficient use was made of available data. Academics and NGO representatives suggested that for controversial issues like the 'language' and 'madrasa' questions the NEPR team should have relied on academic research rather than on gathering opinions through multiple forums (Acad8, Acad6a, NGO16). In addition the White Paper did not seem to make constructive use of the available data of Education Census conducted by the Ministry of Education and Statistics Division (NGO17).

Apart from these general remarks, there were some specific areas mentioned by individual interviewees which they thought were either neglected or not tackled properly in the White Paper. Such areas included: partnerships, the technical stream of education, and teacher education (Don14, NGO23, Acad25).

2.3.2 Written feedback over the White Paper

The feedback documents obtained from donors, NGO practitioners and academics are either in public domain or were provided to the researcher in confidence. In order to maintain confidentiality, I will avoid giving any particular reference to any organisation and will only reference the broad general category that the respondent belong to for example NGO, donors or academics. All of these comments were made in January and early February 2009. Thus the comments were made on the first draft of the White Paper issued in December 2008 and which was subsequently replaced by a revised draft in February 2009. It is assumed that these comments must have reached the NEPR team before the publication of the revised paper and may perhaps have had an impact on the revision.

2.3.2.1 General comments on the review effort

All of the feedback started with the expression of general appreciation of the overall consultative process of the NEPR team for the forthcoming education policy. The White Paper was appreciated for being comprehensive, inclusive and containing useful contextual information. Generally the commentators offered their feedback in a constructive spirit. The comments reflected background work conducted by the organisation particularly by those which offered a group response. The group responses contained either the names of the contributing participants or their individual contributions in the appendix. The reason for consolidated group responses was, according to one document, ‘to offer a consensus view’ (Feedback4, p.1).

In terms of the format of the comments, all started with broad and general comments followed by section by section commentary on the various sections of the White Paper and following the same order. The feedback of the organisations is analysed in three categories as follows: policies considered positive; policies needing improvement; and Policy gaps.

2.3.2.2 Policies considered positive

The feedback indicates that the respondents seemed to consider the consultation effort as genuine and therefore invested their time and effort to contribute to the policy review through written feedback in a constructive way. As most of the comments focused on the aspects that need improvement in the White Paper or were felt to be missing, there were only a few explicit positive comments in the written feedback. All the comments stated that they were not repeating the positive aspects of the White Paper rather focusing only on areas where they felt that improvement was needed. Nevertheless, specific positive comments did appear in the feedback. These comments were related to the efforts of the White Paper to:

- Articulate functional clarity among different management and governance tiers (Feedback2, p. 1; Feedback3, p. 4).
- Acknowledge linkage between quality education and quality teacher education; and teacher education and national curriculum (Feedback4, p. 2)
- Provision of the background information leading to the White Paper recommendations and their attachment in the appendices (Feedback3, p. 1)

2.3.2.3 Policies needed improvements

The written feedback proposed alternative ways of approaching a problem and raised pertinent questions in dealing with issues. These comments can broadly be presented as follows:

- Issues related to structure and style of the White Paper: narrative overtakes analytic; repetition be avoided; vision lack direction; redesigning the contents and availability of Urdu translation of the White Paper (Feedback1, pp. 2, 5; DEG, p. 1; Feedback2, p. 1; Feedback3, p. 2).
- Issues related to management and governance: further clarity in inter-tier and inter-departmental roles; restructuring of curriculum bureaus, inspection and teacher recruitment and training system; coverage of policy to all sectors –

public, private, forces, faith-based; community participation (Feedback1, p. 7; Feedback4, pp. 1, 3; Feedback2, p. 3; Feedback3, p. 5).

- Issues related with education financing and budgets (Feedback4, p. 2)
- Interface of White Paper with existing policies on curriculum and medium of instruction (Feedback3, pp. 3, 5, 8; Feedback4, p. 4)
- Issues to deal with religious education, emergencies, early childhood and vocational education (Feedback1, pp. 5, 8; Feedback4, p. 4; Feedback3, p. 11)

2.3.2.4 Policy Gaps

The written feedback also pointed to issues and aspects that were either completely omitted or marginalised in the White Paper. Such issues include:

- Policy implementation: future policy review process; local governance at school level; inspectorial system; inter-district harmony; mainstreaming of non-formal system (Feedback1, p. 8; Feedback4, pp. 3, 5; Feedback2, p. 2; Feedback3, pp. 3, 5, 8, 9)
- Actual costing and budgeting: missing per child education cost; estimation of private sector contribution; budget for monitoring and research (Feedback1, pp. 4, 5; Feedback3, p. 4)
- Consideration of multiple providers of education: distinction between philanthropic and for-profit education sector; education by armed forces; links between madrasa and formal schooling; disparities of private education in urban areas (Feedback1, p. 7; Feedback2, p. 8; Feedback3, p. 6)
- Suggestions for overall improvement of policy: comparative lessons from neighbouring and Muslim countries; establishment of vocational accreditation councils; linkages with PRSP II and further public debate (Feedback1, p. 6; Feedback2, p. 6; Feedback3, p. 12)
- Missing on minorities and inclusive education (Feedback1, p. 2; Feedback3, pp. 1, 7)

3 Inter-textuality

According to Fairclough (1992) Inter-textuality is the relation of a text with other texts. The relationship between the texts can be of two types: either *manifest* inter-textuality or interdiscursivity or *constitutive* inter-textuality (p. 85). Manifest inter-textuality, occurs where other texts are overtly and explicitly referenced within a text. Interdiscursivity or constitutive inter-textuality occurs when certain texts are latently and creatively drawn upon within a text. In this section I consider the main text of the White Paper in relation to selected texts that may have had a direct or indirect bearing on the White Paper and subsequent education policy. Since there are also two versions of the White Paper, it is also important to look at the differences between the two versions and consider their possible causes. Thus the various sub-sections that follow from here will deal with the following issues:

- differences between the two versions of the White Paper;
- the White Paper in relation to National contemporary documents;
- the White Paper in relation to international contemporary documents.

3.1 Differences between the two versions of the White Paper

In order to assess the variation between the two versions of the White Paper, the researcher carried out a detailed analysis. The two documents were consulted side by side noting down the differences between various sections and recommendations and discussing the probable reason for that change. This analysis resulted in a five page long analytical table detailing all the changes between the two versions of the White Paper. Notes were taken to show whether the changes are in the form of addition, removal, extension or revision of previous recommendations. Following this process, the researcher identified the major changes and the categories that vary between the two versions. These are set out below:

3.1.1 Policy applicability to all sectors

The revised draft makes it explicit that the national policy will be applicable to all sectors of education whether state or non-state, formal or non-formal (p. 3, 33). The earlier version was not clear on this. This degree of explicitness was proposed in written Feedback 4 that was sent to the NEPR from donors.

3.1.2 The religious rights of minorities were explicitly considered

Although the first draft of the White Paper was quite critical of a dogmatic view of Islam, it did not explicitly address the issue of minorities in Pakistan. The revised version of the White Paper explicitly pronounced that wherever applicable the religious sentiments and education of minorities should be given equal space (p. 3, 4). The revised paper also emphasises that true Islamic ideology demands that Muslims treat all minorities with respect. The heading of section 10 was changed from that of 'Islamic education' to 'Religious Education' (p. 56). The section also added two paragraphs which emphasise that religious education is essentially a family responsibility and that the state will only facilitate this provision in order to avoid any sectarian bias. Additionally the paragraphs also suggest that minorities can choose alternative sources dealing with their own religious education (p. 56-58). These recommendations were also put forward by various organisations through Feedback documents 1 and 3).

3.1.3 Inter ministerial harmony

The earlier version of the White Paper noted that there are several ministries which deal with education and that there is a need to integrate them to avoid duplication and wastage. The revised version is more explicit, it detailed all the ministries that deal with education in various ways (p. 6). Further, it proposed a formal forum for 'forging harmony' for creating more integrated working among these ministries. Instead of the existing Social Sector committee of the Cabinet, which is non-functional, the revised White Paper proposed the establishment of an education specific committee of the Cabinet (pp. 13-14, 51). This suggestion was very strongly made in Feedback 4.

3.1.4 Role of the private sector

The revised White Paper gives more emphasis to the role of the private sector, public private partnerships and community participation. The suggestion of introducing the ‘voucher system’ was made to utilise private provision and also to utilise public provision where private sector is weak (pp. 15, 32). Various sectors are suggested where public private partnerships should be encouraged. This includes: textbook publication, higher and vocational education, school inspection and examination boards (pp. 25, 33). A recommendation was also added in the revised paper of having a school based budgeting system under the supervision of a school management committee (p. 16). These recommendations were put forward by Feedback documents 1, 3 and 4. It is further interesting to note that the earlier specific recommendation in the first version of the White Paper (p. 32, no. 1) of ‘free, compulsory and universal education’ for all as a policy aim was removed from the revised White Paper. Although the rhetoric of free elementary education is still there in the following form:

‘However, for elementary education (pre-primary plus classes 1 to 8), the State must fulfil its obligations to the citizens and provide full and satisfactory education coverage to the entire population.’ (White Paper, p. 11)

This passage appears within the context of a discussion of encouraging private participation in education provision. The White Paper generally encourages public private partnerships in education provision but with the caveat quoted above. Interestingly, the clear articulation of this in the earlier version as a policy recommendation was taken out in the revised version of the White Paper. This indicates the dilution of that assertion and thus it can be argued that although the White Paper does not seem to have withdrawn from its commitment of free and compulsory education, the revised version expresses this commitment in a weaker form. This is despite the recognition in Annex V of the White Paper of the constitutional requirement on the state to ‘remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within a minimum possible period’ (Constitution of

Pakistan, Section 37 (b)). The weakened expression of commitment is made despite acknowledgment in the text that all previous policies have expressed commitment to the overarching aim of free compulsory provision but have failed in political will to bring about any significant change (White Paper, p. 38).

3.1.5 Salary of teachers

The earlier version of the White Paper had already made recommendations to improve the salary and benefits structure of teachers. The revised version further extended this discussion and suggested that after 2010 all school teachers should be employed at a higher pay scale equivalent to BS-16 (Government of Pakistan Basic Salary scales). The paper also added that teachers should be promoted on the basis of their improved qualifications and performance. They could advance to level BS-20 irrespective of the grades that they taught (p. 27). This is quite a radical recommendation because prestige within the teaching profession is associated with the higher grades taught.

3.1.6 Overhauling of pre-service and in-service training programmes

The revised paper emphasised that the existing in-service training programmes be overhauled and made mandatory for teachers to attend (p. 27). This proposal seemed to originate from Feedback documents 2 and 4.

3.1.7 Balance between social and natural sciences

The first version of the White Paper gave more emphasis to science and technology education within higher education. This was changed in the revised White Paper which noted that there should be balance between social science, natural science and technologies (p. 44, no. 8)

3.1.8 English language

A whole new section on 'Teaching of the English Language' was added to the revised White Paper (pp. 53-54). The revised version lowers the age of first exposure to English as a subject from grade III to grade I. The other recommendations

pertaining to language did not change substantially apart from the fact that different proposals related to the teaching of English are dispersed across various sections of the earlier White Paper and are brought together in this section of the revised version.

3.1.9 Reasons for the revised version

The preface to the revised White Paper suggests that the first draft received critical feedback from academics and experts, either through written submissions or through direct responses to the NEPR. The NEPR team states that it felt it necessary to incorporate these comments through a revised version before moving on the final policy. Another contributory factor may have been the delay in the responses of provincial education ministries and the finance ministry. The preface suggests that NEPR still awaited these responses. It was also apparent that many of the changes in the revised White Paper could be traced to the suggestions made in feedback from particular groups. Interviewees expressed themselves satisfied that the revisions took their points into account.

3.2 The White Paper in relation to national contemporary documents/texts

3.2.1 The White Paper and the National Textbook Policy

The review of national textbook policy ran parallel to the NEPR process. The review of national education policy was approved in the Inter-Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in January 2005 and a NEPR team constituted in September 2005. The first draft of the White Paper came out in December 2006, which was subsequently replaced by the revised White Paper in February 2007. The decision to design a national textbook policy was taken during the Inter-Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in December, 2005 (Pakistan. Ministry of Education. Curriculum Wing, 2007). A committee for designing a textbook policy was established in the same month. The proposed textbook policy was approved by the Inter-Provincial Education Ministers' Conference in January 2007. Neither the National Textbook Policy, nor the White Paper refers to each other explicitly. One of the interviewees expressed her dissatisfaction about the parallel reviews and

suggested that they should be synchronised (NGO17). Looking at the two policies in parallel reveals that the National Textbook Policy mainly follows the recommendations put forward in the White Paper.

The White Paper recommends that the textbook review process should be standardised (pp. 24, 25, nos. 1, 8). In line with this suggestion the National Textbook Policy recommends a detailed process of ‘development of textbooks by publishers’ (pp. 4-6). The White Paper also recommends that private publishers should be allowed to develop textbooks and that government should have the right to determine the upper cost limits (p. 25, no. 9). The National Textbook Policy opens up competitive publishing for the private sector, while government (the Curriculum Wing and provincial textbook boards) was given regulatory and facilitative roles. However, the policy does not mention openly that government should regulate the pricing of textbooks, though the competitive bidding process implicitly gives it that role. Both the White Paper (p. 26, no. 9) and the National Textbook Policy (p. 8, no. 2.5) also recommend that examinations should be based on the curriculum and not on textbooks. In doing so they are attempting to draw a distinction curriculum and textbooks – this is often not a clear distinction in Pakistan – and there is also an attempt to break the link between assessment and textbooks.

Thus it seems that the two policies are in broad agreement. It is interesting to note that the Textbook Policy was issued in June 2007, while National Policy of which the White Paper was a precursor could only be approved in 2009.

3.2.2 The White Paper in relation to National Education Policy 1998-2010

There are four references made to the 1998 policy within the main text of the White Paper. Out of these four references, two are direct quotes. The references and their context are set out below:

pp. 15 -16, no. 18 – direct quote from 1998 policy in support of the recommendation which calls for ensuring no political interference in education from various political parties.

p. 18, pr. 1 – the 1998 policy recommends having one curriculum for the entire country. The White Paper subsequently recommends the same with an emphasis that by 2015 the national curriculum should be raised to the international standards (p. 24, no. 5).

p. 19, pr. 6 – direct quote from 1998 policy showing that the quality of textbooks produced under the monopoly government system is of low quality. This subsequently led to the recommendation by White Paper to allow private participation in textbook production (p. 25, nos. 6, 9).

p. 29, pr. 1 – all policies including 1998 emphasise increasing girls' participation in education.

The use of references from the 1998 policy serves two purposes for the NEPR team. Firstly it shows that the team has considered the past policies and is not proceeding without reference to the past. Secondly selected recommendations put forward by the previous government are used to support the recommendations of the White Paper. The particularly important ones are the recommendations of 'no political interference' and of 'private participation in textbook production'. Both of these recommendations were generally in line with the stance of the current government, particularly the privatisation policy. However, the privatisation policy does not go well with general public and opposition political parties, hence, using past policy references would make it appear as continuation of the previous government's policy rather than the policy of the current government. This reference can be used to some political advantage to silence opposition.

3.2.3 The White Paper and Education Sector Reforms (ESR)

The four references along with their context are set out below:

p. 9, pr. 4 – there is shortage of development funds for education in general. The federal government provides development funds for education under ESR.

p. 37, pr. 5 – for the first time in the history of Pakistan the ECE was added to the formal education system under ESR.

p. 39, pr. 3 – under the ESR, in conjunction with the Local Government Ordinance 2001, the functional responsibility for delivering elementary education is shifted from provincial governments to the district governments.

p. 22, pr. 5 – there were 300 Teachers Resource Centres (TRCs) established under ESR programme, which were used to train elementary teachers.

All the four references above refer to ESR as introducing some improvements in the education sector of Pakistan. These include the provision of federal funds for education development, formalisation of Early Childhood Education (ECE) in the public education system, decentralisation of educational governance and the establishment of Teaching Resource Centres (TRCs) for teachers' continuous professional development. It is worth noting that ESR was launched by the Ministry of Education under the Musharraf government in 2001. It was considered an action plan for 1998 policy and was also supported by USAID's funds under the title of Education Sector Reform Assistance (ESRA). All the above references were used to provide evidence of the positive efforts of the government to date in improving education in Pakistan.

3.2.4 The White Paper and the Local Government Ordinance

The Local Government Ordinance was introduced under the Musharraf government in 2001. The ordinance introduced the decentralisation of decision making across all sectors to district level. The ordinance is also referred to as the devolution plan. The White Paper refers to the devolution reform in the following ways:

p. 5, pr. 4 – the inter-tier relationship between the provinces and the districts is determined by the Local Government Ordinance.

p. 7, nos. 5.1.2, 5.1.3 – the relations between the provincial, local and sub-district level are explained.

p. 8, pr. 7 – the low capacity of the local governments hinder the actual transfer of power from provinces to the district level.

p. 38, pr. 3 – the Local Government Ordinance shifts the functional responsibility of providing elementary education to the districts from the provinces.

p. 61, Annex I, pr. 2 – the devolution plan referred as one of the policy framework necessitating the education policy review.

The White Paper refers to the Local Government Ordinance or the devolution plan in two ways. First in the Appendix it suggests that the devolution plan was one of the changes that necessitated the review of education policy as it has serious implications for the management and governance of education. The other references to the devolution plan mainly specify and clarify the new governance structure and particularly the responsibilities of the district governments.

3.2.5 White Paper and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) and Medium Term Development Framework (MTDF) (2005-2010)

The PRSP is a document prepared by the Ministry of Finance, which is essentially concerned with linking the development efforts of the government to reducing poverty. The Musharraf government after coming to power launched the PRSP. It is widely understood that the PRSP is a World Bank initiative and it is adopted in several aid-dependant countries. The launch of this programme in Pakistan also reflects this. The MTDF (2005-2010) is a planning document prepared by the Planning Commission of Pakistan which replaces the earlier Five-year planning initiatives by the same agency. MTDF looks across the sectors and outlines the future

targets and investment requirement to achieve development targets. The two documents are rolling documents and are regularly updated while the PRSP provides a broad policy framework. The MTDF tends to be a more practice-oriented document with detailed targets and plans.

The main text of the White Paper has no reference to either PRSP or MTDF. The only reference to the two documents appears in Appendix I – National Education Policy – Review 2005-2006: Consultative process and methodology. The references appear in the second paragraph as a list of national and international initiatives which are referred to with the suggestion that these have implications for education policy in Pakistan. It is therefore likely that the two documents of PRSP (2003) and MTDF (2005-2010) have indirect/ implicit influence on the White Paper. This is an example of ‘constitutive inter-textuality’. The MTDF (2005-2010) document appears to emphasise community participation, public private participation and achievement of international targets under the MDG and EFA. All these emphases are highly visible in the recommendations of the White Paper. The relevant section of the PRSP (2003, pp. 67-72) indicates that PRSP endorsed the initiatives already taken under the ESR initiative of the government. The continuous reference in PRSP was on achieving the targets set under the EFA and MDGs and which were operationalised in Pakistan through ESR (2001-2005) and National Plan of Action for EFA (2001-2015). The PRSP also appreciated and endorsed the continuing involvement of the private sector in the provision of education, reform of curriculum and the madrasa. These are some of the features that are also proposed in the White Paper.

3.3 White Paper in relation to international contemporary documents

As noted earlier (p. 12) the International Organisations (IOs) play a significant role in educational policy making in Pakistan (Ali, 2008). Apart from their direct involvement, described above, there are explicit documents generally labelled as ‘Pakistan strategy’ available from public sources and their websites. Following Fairclough (1992) this section will elaborate on the relationship of the White Paper with these strategy documents.

The White Paper references such sources as the EFA and MDGs and reinforces commitment to their achievement. It considers the role of donor agencies and international development organisations in education in Pakistan and acknowledges the dependency of Pakistani education development on finances provided by these international organisations. During the interviews various actors acknowledged that donors have significant influence on education policy in Pakistan. Since this research concerns the national sphere of authority, it is important to see the shape and scope of this influence.

In this section I look at the strategy papers produced by prominent international organisations working in education sector of Pakistan. The focus will be on the relationship of these documents with the White Paper in order to explore the extent to which the policy proposed in the White Paper is influenced by these sources. The choice of the documents is based on the significance of the organisation and the open availability of their relevant source/ document around the time of White Paper production. The significance is determined by the official document produced by the Ministry of Education with the title 'Donors' Directory – 2005' which lists the contribution of all the major international organisations in the education sector in Pakistan (Pakistan. Ministry of Education, 2005). Accordingly the following documents are selected:

- Country Strategy Program update 2006-2008 Pakistan by Asian Development Bank (ADB)
- Country Assistance Strategy for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the period FY06-09 by The world Bank Group
- Pakistan Country Strategy Paper (2002-2006) by European Commission (EC)
- USAID/Pakistan Interim Strategic Plan May 2003-September 2006 by United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
- Creating Quality Inclusive Basic Education Systems for Marginalised Children in Pakistan – Thematic Programme Plan Education Pakistan Programme 2007-2011 by Save the Children UK (SC-UK)

- Japan's Country Assistance Program for Pakistan February 2005 Government of Japan by Japan Official Development Assistance (ODA)
- Pakistan: Country Assistance Plan 2005-2007 by Department for International Development (DFID)

Most of these deal with overall development assistance to Pakistan; however, I have only looked at the education-related sections. Before we embark on detailed analysis of each of the above documents in relation to the White Paper, it is worth considering the style in which the White Paper references international organisations.

3.3.1 Explicit References to the International Organisations (IOs) within the White Paper

The White Paper uses terms such as donors and international development partners to refer to the international organisations. Some examples are given below:

p. 8, pr. 4 – 'Availability of donor support and money also reduces the practical significance of the policy as the priorities identified by these agreements overtake other conditions.'

p. 8, pr. 6 – the donor driven projects distorts the overall coherent planning.

p. 8, pr. 7 – the development partners are helping provincial and district governments for sector wide planning. At district levels due to capacity deficiency the development partners' projects or programmes becomes the *de facto* plans.

p. 9, pr. 4 – 'A considerable share of the development budget is met through funding by the international development partners.'

p. 23, pt. iv – at primary level most in-service training programmes are donor driven without recurrent sustainable budget by the government.

p. 37, pr. 5 – donor sponsorship of pilot ECE programmes.

p. 40, pt. 8 – donor support be sought for providing stipends for poor pupils, to compensate for the opportunity cost.

These references illustrate the dilemma that education policy in Pakistan faces. On the one hand it is acknowledged in the White Paper that IOs provide valuable resources for education development in Pakistan for example in provision of in-service teacher training and the ECE. In fact the White Paper recommends at one point that donors' assistance be sought for providing stipends to poor pupils. However, the reliance on IOs creates overall policy problems for the government. The White Paper suggests that dependency on donor finances overtakes central policy and planning and makes it redundant. Policies that do not fall under IOs priority areas receive very little or no financing. The current policy faces the same challenge. It is therefore important to understand the education priorities of the IOs and how they are reflected in the White Paper.

3.3.2 Strategy papers of International Organisations (IOs) and White Paper

The analysis of these texts focused on the amount of funds that these organisations provide for the education sector, the aims of their education strategy and any other significant observations. The analysis reveals significant similarities in the focus of educational strategy of various IOs for Pakistan. It is therefore not useful to discuss each of these documents separately in relation to the White Paper. It is important to note that most of the strategies emphasise the coordination between IOs and many carried out detailed analysis of the areas that other IOs were engaged in. Hence there are common themes across many of these strategies along with identification of areas for co-ordination action or for separate development. The analysis below therefore focuses on extracting the common themes across these documents. A later section analyses how these strategies may have affected the White Paper.

3.3.2.1 Poverty Reduction

All the IOs focus on reducing poverty and see education as a prime element in this aim. Many IOs refer to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) prepared by the Pakistani government and endorse its approach. IOs state that they consider education to provide opportunities which improve the chances for individuals for getting out of poverty through enhanced skills. The Japanese government is the most explicit in its strategy and considers the provision of technical and vocational education as a focus which will contribute to the strengthening of the middle class in Pakistan.

3.3.2.2 Education governance

Governance in general and education governance in particular attracts a lot of focus in all the IO strategies for Pakistan. All consider that Pakistan needs improvement in the delivery of public services including education services. The good governance policy of the Musharraf government is supported in these strategy papers. The IO strategies seek a greater role for public private partnerships and community participation in the provision of education. Many IO strategies consider that working with an organisation of civil society is an effective way of strengthening accountability. The devolution reforms of the government introduced in 2001 and followed through the Education Sector Reform (ESR) Action Plan 2001-2005 by the Education sector are welcomed and considered an opportunity that needs strengthening from all the IOs financing and technical assistance. The USAID's \$100 million aid package for education focuses exclusively on assisting the ESR objectives.

3.3.2.3 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

All the strategy papers of the IOs emphasise assisting Pakistan in achieving the targets of the MDGs. Targets 2 and 3 relate to access to education and gender balance. The relevant section dealing with education assistance to Pakistan suggests that the support of IOs is dependent upon the achievement of the MDG targets. The DFID, the World Bank and the ADB explicitly support the achievement of MDGs by

the Pakistani government. Interestingly Japan recommends assistance in achieving the targets of EFA by 2015 which are broader compared to the educational targets in the MDGs. Endorsement of ensuring gender equity in education provision was a common strategy across IOs.

Save the Children, UK's (SC-UK) education strategy tries to focus more on education provision for vulnerable pupils that include girls, working class children and children affected by disaster. Most other IOs talk about formal education provision through the public sector without distinguishing particular groups of children. Another interesting case is the education strategy of USAID which is quite explicit in its overall mission objective, which is 'to tangibly improve the lives of the poor in Pakistan and to build support for Pakistan's decision to join the international war on terrorism and thwart further terrorist recruiting' (p. 2, emphasis added). The education objective of supporting ESR is also attached to their overall foreign policy objective. The document says that:

'U.S. foreign policy objectives put improving primary education first and foremost among our development goals in Pakistan, as a way to build the economy, counter despair and extremism, while promoting moderation.' (p. 7, emphasis added).

The Japanese government document frankly acknowledges that the interest of the IOs in development in Pakistan has increased since 11th Sept 2001 and most other donors' have followed the USAID lead in providing aid and linking it to countering terrorism. Thus most IOs which abandoned or reduced their operations in Pakistan in 1998 following the demonstration of Pakistan's nuclear capability returned and enhanced their support after 2001.

The three broad areas of focus of the IOs in education are clearly reflected in the White Paper, and it is likely that its caution in relation to religious education is also an expression of IO concerns. Appendix I of the White Paper (p. 61) clearly articulates that the review of policy was necessary because of developments that include the MDGs and EFA goals along with the articulation of PRSP and MTDF.

All of these references inform the White Paper at many occasions either explicitly or implicitly. In relation to the IOs, then, there are clear examples of both explicit and constitutive inter-textuality. The strategy documents analysed here have an implicit constitutive role in two ways. First of all the formulation of PRSP itself reflects a World Bank demand to link all development financing to poverty reduction. In addition the preparation of the MDG report by Pakistan showing the progress on its achievement (MDG report 2006) reflects the government's commitment to and acceptance of this broad policy direction. The references to the MDGs, EFAs and PRSP (also MTF in line with it) have an indirect but powerful bearing on the formulation of the White Paper. Secondly, the donors and many civil society organisations who participated in the consultation and who also gave written feedback to the NEPR team also represent the effects of the strategies of these IOs indirectly.

4 Conclusion

This chapter analyses the data resources along the second dimension of the analytical framework presented in chapter 4. Along with chapter 5 the two dimensions of the analytical framework developed in chapter 4 have now been considered. The next chapter develops an overarching analysis building on chapters 5 and 6 and in relation to the theoretical framework in chapter 3. The major concern of the next chapter is on determining the Sphere of Authority of the Pakistani government in making its education policy.

Chapter 7: The National Sphere of Education Policy Authority in Pakistan

I now return to the research objective and questions set earlier and address them in light of the empirical findings presented in chapters five and six. This will comprise the third level of the analytical framework that I developed in chapter 4. Here I move from the specific discussion of Pakistan to a more general level and situate the findings within the literature and theory reviewed in chapter three. In doing this I explore the ways in which the case of Pakistan's Sphere of Authority may contribute to a more general understanding of the interaction of global education policy field with national education policy particularly in the context of postcolonial developing countries. In making this assessment I discuss how this case contributes to our understanding of the effects and mechanisms through which the processes of globalisation affect national education policy. Here the issue of central importance is in assessing the relationship between globalising forces and national spheres of authority (Dale, 1999). I also focus on the tensions that the interaction of national and global education policy field generate and how national governments manage them within national policies. In discussing these issues, I will continuously draw from Pakistani examples. Finally, I turn to the major question that this research addresses i.e. the SoA of Pakistani government in education policy making. In dealing with this, I discuss whether the assumption that an emergent global education policy field (Ozga & Lingard, 2007) has diminished the capacity of nation states (Mann, 1997) is borne out here. I will also consider the extent to which a reading of global influence that stresses the capacity of the national to 'indigenise' policy and that recognises the role of the vernacular in policy is more persuasive (Appadurai, 2001).

1 Effects and mechanisms of globalization vis-à-vis national education policy and accompanying tensions

Globalisation quite often evokes negative sentiments among people particularly those inclined towards building a just and equitable society. The problems of rising

poverty, environmental degradation and the supremacy of the G8 in global decision making often provokes protests as we have witnessed in Seattle or recently in London and other places where the powerful meet (Collier, 2008). In chapter three I highlighted that globalisation processes are also argued to be beneficial to the world population, particularly in the form of globalisation from below or counter-hegemonic globalisation. However, the current relationship between globalisation processes and neo-liberal doctrine has hegemonic tendencies and therefore it promotes the idea of globalisation as representing a new form of empire (Hardt & Negri, 2003). David Harvey (2005) describes neoliberalism as follows:

‘Neo-liberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.’

Harvey (2005) further suggests that the doctrine of neo-liberalism demands that the state create institutional frameworks that ensure the growth of a free market economy. The development of these broad policy principles were energetically and in some cases ruthlessly pursued by the UK and USA governments in 1980s and later spread across the globe in 1990s under the auspices of IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. The misery that this neo-liberal globalisation brought to the least developed countries particularly in Africa and Latin America compelled scholars to pronounce that globalisation has launched a new epoch of colonisation (Hoogvelt, 2001). Gregory (2004) reminds us that the colonialism is an event of the past but is also re-enacted in the present, which is a ‘colonial present’. The recent financial crisis has additionally shown the harmful effects of uncontrolled neoliberal policies even for developed countries. This crisis has made governments rethink their adoption of neoliberal policies and as a result we see strong government’s interventions in financial markets. Apart from neoliberal hegemony is the new global security agenda under the banner of ‘war on terror’, which is particularly relevant in the case of Pakistan (Rizvi, 2004; Robertson et al., 2007). Thus globalisation in its present form

promotes the political, economic, cultural and strategic hegemony of the powerful nations mostly in the West.

Moving to the field of education neo-liberal globalisation has given prominence to particular education policies on a global scale. This is what has been referred as ‘an emergent global education policy field’ (Lingard et al., 2005; Ozga & Lingard, 2007). The general contours of this field have been detailed in chapter three; briefly the global education policy field privileges the role of knowledge for the service of the economy; emphasises competition, measurement and standardisation; and promotes the governance of education through decentralised and privatised structures. Here the observation of Fairclough (2006) is important, in that he suggests that much of the work of globalisation is discursive. He points out that in addition to the material aspects of the effects of globalisation we have to look at the discursive effects of globalisation: in fact much of globalisation is represented in rhetoric, for example the idea of the borderless world or the knowledge economy. He argues that there is a dialectical relationship between the material and discursive and one affects the other. Thus for example the idea of ‘knowledge economy’ works quite discursively within the education policy field. A discursive rhetoric is built through research, media and rhetorical presentations of the politicians that convince the people of the existence of the knowledge economy and the necessity of its promotion. It is not that the knowledge economy has no material basis, it has; but it acts in relationship with the discursive basis. This distinction between the material and discursive form of globalisation had been highlighted by Dale and Robertson (2002; see also Cerny, 1997). They consider globalisation as having dual meaning – as process and as discourse, though their work largely focused on considering globalisation as process.

My research also attests to the observation of Dale and Robertson (2002) and Fairclough (2006) and suggests that the effects of globalisation have to be seen not only materially but also discursively. I have focused more on the discursive effects of globalisation on national policy. This discursive frame is created through the publication of plethora of texts at global and national levels. For example in the case

of Pakistan we have seen in chapter 6 that the push to pursue global targets are being created through the United Nations' publication as well as publications and strategy papers of various agencies that work in education sector of Pakistan and which also finance its educational budget. This does not mean that the material constraints on national policies as promoted through the international organisations like IMF, World Bank, OECD and WTO are of less significance; in some situations it might be more relevant (Moutsios, 2009). The two effects – discursive and material – of globalisation are also quite intertwined and at times it is not easy to disentangle one from the other.

After accepting that globalisation affects national education policies, it is more important to trace the mechanisms through which it is achieved and the unique contextual features that determine the variety of those effects (Dale, 1999, pp. 12-15). Dale (1999) suggests that there are various mechanisms through which global policy makes its way in the national policy context. These are: harmonisation, dissemination, standardisation, installing interdependence and imposition. Apart from 'imposition' most other mechanisms use fairly non-coercive processes like: persuasion, agenda setting, collective agreements and membership requirements. Only the aid agencies tend to follow the coercive means to impose their policy priorities as a condition of loan. What Dale (1999) shows is that globalisation more often works in a seemingly consensual way. The same is observed by Fairclough (2006) when he argued that globalisation works more often discursively to affect national policies. My research also shows that the policy priorities that are influenced by global education policy field are enacted discursively but also quite often supported by strong material prospects in the form of later educational budget support.

Thus discursive mechanisms are more powerful when they are backed by material mechanisms (or prospect of material benefits in future). The production of various texts: strategy papers, research reports; and participation in national policy making activities provide opportunities for global agents (IOs, NGOs) to perform the persuasive task and create discursive limitations for the policy which subsequently

modifies it to the global patterns. In fact Dale and Robertson (2002) argue that rather than the power to make decisions, the power to set agenda is more important when we look at the effects of globalisation. The discursive limitations allows or hinder certain issues reaching the final agenda for deliberation and in that way they are quite a powerful mechanism in determining the outcome of any policy. The strengthening of national sphere of authority could very well be considered in terms of the 'agenda setting' ability of the state.

Having deliberated on the mechanisms through which globalisation affect the national policy, it is also important to note that such interactions do not necessarily result in homogenisation (although the repertoire of IOs looks pretty similar). That is to say that the effects of globalisation do not produce a replica of global policy in the national environment; rather a hybrid policy outcome is achieved as a result of dialectical interaction between global and national education policy priorities. The nation state does not accept the global policy prescription in a docile state; rather it continuously strives to expand its authority and strengthen its national capital – 'the capacity for nations to mediate the effects of the emergent global educational policy field (Lingard & Jn Pierre, 2006, p. 298). The actual policy outcome depends on the contextual features, history and politics of the nation and thus would more appropriately be referred as 'vernacular globalisation' suggesting that there is something of both national and global in the final outcome (Appadurai, 1996). Jones and Alexiadou (2001) suggests that the travelling policy or global policy does not simply take over local policy space. The travelling policy negotiates with the embedded or national policy climate and produce vernacular policy space. In fact Silova (2004) shows from the Latvian case that national governments have become quite innovative in using the global rhetoric for national purposes. The adoption of global language does not mean the submission to global will; rather it alludes to a hybridized compromise between global and national policy fields.

The interaction of global and national education policy fields creates tensions for national education policy because of the embedded national practices and histories, and also because of internal national tensions among different policy interests. The

negotiation between travelling and embedded policy creates tensions for national policy. Based on the empirical analysis in chapters 5 and 6, I will explore the tensions visible because of the interaction of global and national policy fields.

2 Tensions due to interaction of global and national education policy fields

2.1 Policy style and genre

Tensions between the global and the national policy fields are visible in the very structure of the White Paper. The style of the White Paper reflects the globalised policy discourse. Previous education policies in Pakistan were constructed mainly in terms of the level of education, for example primary, secondary, tertiary education, vocational education, religious education and so on. In contrast the White Paper is constructed in a thematic style following the major global policy themes of quality, equity, access, relevance and governance of education, that reflect the priorities of the Education for All (EFA) policy of UNESCO. The appendices attached to the White Paper are particularly revealing. In chapter 5, section 1.4, I have detailed the appendices and what they contain. They detail the background processes that went into the production of the White Paper. The process of review, the review of past policies and the legal framework governing education in Pakistan are significant background activity to the White Paper. The attachments allude to the new ways of policy making, and this openness about the background work is calculated to work to the advantage of policy makers in the Pakistan government in demonstrating their modernised practices.

Related to this issue, the open availability of the White Paper and the overall policy review process through dedicated web pages on the Ministry of Education's website also represents a globalised education policy trend, and the government's recognition of its importance. The new form of policy development does not only demand an efficient and effective policy in its contents but also its effective presentation to media and interested policy actors (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004). Thus the National

Education Policy Review (NEPR) team seems to follow a globalised way of constructing and presenting policy. Progress in the development of the White Paper and the overall process was extensively reported by the media particularly the print media. There were many articles and letters written in the newspapers in relation to the new education policy and the recommendations of the White Paper. Passionate editorials appeared in the national dailies following the resignation of the team leader of NEPR (see Mustafa, 2007). In this way the White Paper had a high public profile and attracted media attention, which is a clear example of working with a global education policy genre by the NEPR team. The tension here is between the demand of the globalised policy genre to appear more public and attract a favourable media response as opposed to the traditional policy making genre which was much less public and more concerned with technical matters. Here the government is 'caught' by the need to appear consultative and to seem to be active in promoting public engagement, so that it attempts to 'spin' the policy in various ways (Gewirtz et al., 2007). However at the same time this strategy is risky, and increases pressure on the government because of the difficulty of ensuring supportive media coverage. There is a further risk that attempting to 'spin' policy may further reduce confidence in the consultation process.

Tensions in the national and global interest are also visible through the analysis of the 'authority of language' produced in chapter 5 section 4. In that analysis I focused on assessing the kinds of authority (national or global) utilised by the policy in proposing or opposing certain policy suggestions. Through that analysis we can see that national sources of authorities like the constitution, legislation, references to national heroes and to previous policies were used to deal with issues of domestic concern like the ideology and politics of education. In comparison, more global sources of authority like international standards, targets, research and the logic of the knowledge economy were used to argue for adhering to international educational trends. This utilisation of national and global authority in relation to separate areas of activity signifies a tension between global and national interests. It can be observed that the global logic is used to justify global standards for national education policy, thus encouraging private sector involvement in education, pursuit of ICT education

and achievement of global targets in a particular time frame. These goals are not contrasted with or scrutinised against any national logic, for example in considering whether it is worth achieving particular global targets by borrowing heavily or whether it is a valid aspiration for Pakistan to achieve ICT prominence. Global logic dictates some choices, regardless of context. Support for this analysis is also drawn from global sources of international literature, standards or comparative indicators of prosperity. This shows how the two logics – global and national are interwoven in the policy discourse presented in the White Paper. An important point to note here is the attempt of the government to conceal these apparent tensions by drawing selectively from national and global discourses. In so doing the government of Pakistan is trying to appear in-charge of agenda setting and as resisting global pressures that compel it to choose or prioritise certain issues.

In a similar fashion the involvement of various policy actors also evidences tensions in the national policy arena. The extensive and lengthy consultative process itself is indicative of the global policy making genre. If we contrast the present consultation with the consultation for policy in the 1940s and 1950s we notice a very considerable shift in the extent and nature of consultation. During the educational conferences of 1947, 1951 and 1955 the delegates were mostly from within the government machinery. The proceedings in those conferences were also typically of a bureaucratic nature. In contrast, we can see at least three prominent groups that were consulted for the current policy review process – NGOs, academia, and International Organisations (see chapter 6, section 1.5). The weight of their suggestions and the care with which their comments are regarded is reflective of the increased power of various non governmental and global actors in the national policy making arena. The International Organisations particularly carry more weight because of the funding that they bring to education and because of their assumed expertise. As a result we see the regular consultation of the Donor Education Group (DEG) with the NEPR team during the consultative process (see chapter 6, section 1.3.1). An assessment of their influence can be made by the fact that White Paper was revised soon after its publication based on the suggestions put forward by IOs and NGOs (see chapter 6, sections 2.3.2 and 3.1). The revised version seems quite attentive to their proposals.

The tensions between the global and national interests are visible through the language use and the style indicates that global discourses carry significant power in the White Paper compared to the national. The growing strength of global discourses also means a weakening of traditional national authority. This authority is now being shared with other influential groups like the IOs, NGOs and academia. At the same time it is also recognised that discourses of power work alongside material resources. The IOs bring in financial support for the national education system and therefore their discursive power is accepted more readily by national governments.

2.2 Pursuit of global policy prescriptions

In chapter six under section 3.3 I have tried to show that the text of the White Paper should also be read alongside other contemporary texts that are produced by International Organisations for and about Pakistan. These texts or strategy papers for the development of various sectors in Pakistan play an important role in education policy in Pakistan. The papers outline the priority areas for engagement and the nature of the engagement with Pakistan of various international governments like the USA, UK and Japanese governments and European Community (EC). These strategy papers also outline the preferred policy shifts that they want to see in Pakistan. In the analysis I have pointed out that there are three major areas that are explicitly pushed through these various texts in relation to Pakistan's education priorities. They include: linking educational development to poverty reduction, improving educational governance and pursuing the targets of MDGs and EFA.

All the international strategy papers see education as the basic tool for reducing poverty and thus they emphasise more on achieving high enrolment at primary levels and now the addition of early childhood education. In the domain of educational governance the strategy papers of these international organisations are supportive of the devolution policy adopted by the government since 2001. They also wanted to see more involvement of community and the civil society organisations in educational decision making. The encouragement of public private partnerships in

educational provision is also emphasised by these strategy papers. Another major emphasis in these strategy papers is towards the achievement of MDG and EFA targets by Pakistan within the stipulated period.

Fairclough (1992) suggests that contemporary texts may be understood as having a discursive effect on one another – that texts speak to each other. In the above discussion drawing upon the analysis of chapter 6 section 3.3, I have shown that the strategy papers of international organisations have a *constitutive* effect on the policy formulation of the White Paper. This inter-textual role is further enhanced by the direct participation of the representatives of these organisations in the consultative process. Further the funds provided to support education policy implementation carry additional constitutive effects on policy. Thus we notice that the White Paper desires a knowledge economy future for Pakistan through education. There is also great emphasis in the White Paper on improving educational governance, and lastly, the White Paper also supports achievement of the targets of EFA and MDGs.

This analysis of inter-textuality reflects and reveals tension in education policy in Pakistan. For example, it is doubtful if Pakistan has sufficient resources to achieve the targets of EFA and MDGs. If that is the case, is it viable to borrow money from international financial institutions to fulfil these targets? Is education going to reduce poverty or create a more educated population of unemployed? The introduction of decentralisation reforms for improved educational governance is a further source of tension, as research has indicated that in contrast to the rhetoric of devolution of authority to district levels, the central and provincial governments still hold the keys to power mainly through their policy making and financial control mechanisms (M. R. Malik, 2007).

2.3 Public and private education

This analysis also reveals a tension between public and private provision of education within the White Paper. The White Paper recognises through its attachment ‘Annex V’ that the state of Pakistan is constitutionally bound to ‘remove

illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period' (Constitution of Pakistan, Section 37 (b)). The White Paper also recalls that all previous education policies had continued to pursue this objective although with weak political will. Yet, it recommends a strong case for public private partnerships and suggests that '... State should freely enter into public-private partnerships' in many educational areas (White Paper, p. 11). Thus we noticed in chapter 6 section 3.1.4 that the previously explicit policy recommendation of free and compulsory education in the first version of the White Paper was removed in the revised version.

The dilemma for the authors of the White Paper was that despite continuous government rhetoric, there was an equally continuous lack of will and weak financing for education (see table 7 below). Educational expenditure as a percentage of GDP remains on average around 2%, and even the current budget announced in June 2009 does not promise any significant increase particularly for elementary education.

Table 7: Expenditure on Education

Year	Current	Development	Total Public Sector Expenditure	As % of GDP	% of Total Expenditure
	(In billion Rupees)			(In percentage)	
2000-01	69.5	6.4	75.9	1.82	10.6
2001-02	70.4	8.5	78.9	1.79	9.5
2002-03	79.5	10.4	89.9	1.86	10.0
2003-04	94.3	29.9	124.2	2.20	13.0
2004-05	106.6	33.4	140.0	2.15	12.5
2005-06	128.9	41.9	170.8	2.24	12.2
2006-07	159.9	56.6	216.5	2.50	12.0
2007-08	190.2	63.5	253.7	2.47	9.8
2008-09	200.4	75.1	275.5	2.10	11.52

Sources: Pakistan. Ministry of Finance (2009) and Pakistan. Ministry of Education. Policy and Planning Wing (2008)

In addition to this lack of investment in education, globally the privatisation of educational services is on rise. Thus the IOs are anxious that Pakistan introduces various mechanisms to move educational services away from state provision and towards private provision (see also Zia & McBride, 2008). The support for such ideas is created materially and discursively, materially through financial assistance and discursively through the production of knowledge in the forms of research reports. One of the former provincial ministers of education interviewed for this research confessed that government has never been serious in educational improvement which is reflected by meagre budget that it allocates for this purpose (NGO23).

At the primary level this shift is being promoted through the introduction of community based schools in low income and rural areas, where low cost schools are established with initial support from government that makes the provision sustainable. These projects are often financed by the international organisations and supported through 'Educational Foundations' created by the Federal and provincial Ministries of Education. One such example is the establishment of 350 community schools in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan during 2003 - 2007. This project was executed by the National Education Foundation with the financial assistance of the Royal Norwegian Government (Pakistan. Ministry of Education. Policy & Planning Wing, 2007, pp. 17-18).

Based on their first hand experience Zia and McBride (2008) describe a situation where the knowledge produced and financed by an international organisation is used to justify certain policy decisions. In such cases the findings of a report are used for pushing the policy desires of a particular international organisation. They particularly highlight the example of the research report entitled 'Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools' (LEAPS). The report makes a strong case for private education in Punjab for not only urban but also rural areas. Zia and McBride

(2008) point out that two of the authors of the LEAPS report are attached to the organisation that funds a project in Pakistan for promoting privatisation. Thus the knowledge produced in the report acts discursively and supports the pursuit of privatisation in Pakistan.

Generally, in Pakistan privatisation in education is being pursued through encouraging public private partnerships, and through encouraging private schooling and aid assisted schools. The White Paper, despite apparently recognising the threats to equality posed by privatisation, continues this trend. Privatisation appears to be unchallengeable, a position that is discursively and materially maintained.

This policy is clearly against the resolution in the Constitution of Pakistan, which required the government to seek free and comprehensive education within a minimal time. The constitution was promulgated in 1973 and 36 years later even minimal provision is by no standards universal. Clearly the 1998 education policy led the way for further privatisation in education, which was further strengthened under the Education Sector Reforms (2001-2006). As a result the current education census conducted by the Ministry of Education reports that 33.4% of educational institutions in Pakistan (pre-primary to tertiary levels) are run by the private sector. While primary education is still largely taken care by the public sector (86.2%), more than half (58%) of secondary schools are in the private sector. The increasing privatisation of education and diminishing of attention to equity by successive governments have created an educational apartheid-like situation in Pakistan (T. Rahman, 2004). This is what one of the interviewee referred as ‘abdication by the government of its constitutional responsibility’ of providing education for all citizens irrespective of their financial situation (NGO16).

2.4 Language issue

Language is a sensitive issue within Pakistani politics. The degree of sensitivity can be understood by the fact that the East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan to form Bangladesh in 1971 because of language related conflicts. It remains a sensitive

issue for educational planners because of the multi-ethnic population of Pakistan.

The language issue in education policy in Pakistan has three sub-themes: the issue of mother tongue instruction, the issue of national language, and the issue of English language. The Ethnologue database lists 72 live languages spoken in Pakistan (www.ethnologue.com, accessed 17th June 2009). Urdu has the status of the national language, while English is the official language.

In chapter 5 section 1.7 it was noted that the English language is a difficult issue to classify. It raises both pedagogical and equity concerns. Teachers are not generally proficient in the teaching of English language particularly in rural and slum localities. The growing importance of English as a language of the global economy and of opportunity within and outside country means that there is a great desire to be proficient in English. Generally, the better off primary schools offer better quality English language support while the public schools generally lack in this. The madrasa are completely alien to English language teaching and learning. This causes a three tiered system of schools reflecting different social strata and further reinforcing the class boundaries (T. Rahman, 2004).

There is a pedagogical issue of desire and actuality. The government announced that English would be taught from grade one, however, the White Paper notes that there are not enough teachers in the field to teach English properly and secondly that the first three years are better dealt with in mother tongue. Thus the White Paper proposed that teachers be trained in teaching English and that English language teaching be started from grade three. This also resulted in conflict between the NEPR team leader and the Minister of Education, who announced that English would be started from grade one, ultimately resulting in the NEPR team leader's resignation soon after the publication of the White Paper.

I have noted in chapter 5 section 2.2.2 that due to the sensitivity of the language issue, the White Paper took a very cautious approach in describing the benefits and challenges of various language options – Urdu, English and mother tongue.

In terms of the English language there is an interesting dilemma for Pakistan. Being an English colony until 1947 the English language carries connections to the colonial past. Although Pakistan did not cease English use soon after independence and it continued to be an official language, during the 1970s and 1980s there were strong moves to replace English with Urdu. This did not succeed and by the 1990s the growing importance of English in the world economy made it more difficult for Pakistani planners to deny the benefits gained through proficiency in English. The White Paper reflects the same sentiments in a quote that I produced in chapter 5, section 2.2.6, which is worth repeating here:

‘So English was the official language of authority and the language of the elite and was understandably perceived as a vehicle for social and economic advancement. After 1947, English has continued to enjoy privilege of the British times, though no more considered imperialistic in dispensation. In the meantime in the last half a century or so, the influence of English language has broadened way outside the original English speaking countries. It is no more the language of Anglo-Saxon descent but is now a language of international communication, cosmopolitan life and transnational trade and commerce. English has grown from its colonial aura of luxury and prestige to an international necessity in the globalized world.’ (pp. 53-54, pr. 5, 1)

The major tension in terms of language is thus between the promotion of English or Urdu. The promotion of Urdu as a national language soon after independence in 1947 was an attempt to create a national identity to produce a lingua franca. In the current global economy, it is hard to deny the importance of English language. The dilemma that the planners in Pakistan now face is to attain the right balance between the three languages: mother tongue, English and Urdu.

2.5 Ideology

The USAID strategy for education in Pakistan views education as an ideological tool to deal with the threat of extremism to the USA. USAID has invested heavily since 9/11 and is quite explicit in its policy priorities for education in Pakistan. Reforming madrasa education and curriculum are part of this strategy. The Musharraf

government had already launched reforms of the madrasa and of curriculum in 2001 through the Education Sector Reforms (ESR). The White Paper is quite explicit in addressing this ideological question in its initial pages and at later stages in the text. It suggests that distinctions need to be made between dogmatic Islam and moderate Islam. It emphasises that dogmatism is against the true spirit of Islam and that education in Pakistan needs to purge dogmatic elements in favour of moderate Islam. The term ‘enlightened moderation’ was coined and promoted by the Musharraf government from 9/11 onwards at both national and international forums. This was to highlight that Pakistan’s movement along a moderate rather than a more extremist path. This binary division of Islam – moderate versus extremist – emerged in the global journalistic field and adopted by the Pakistan government may be thought of in terms of the tragedy that Edward Said alludes to in his classic work on Orientalism and his later work ‘Discovering Islam’ (Said, 1979, , 1997). He explains the tragedy with Islamic scholarship as below:

‘Instead of scholarship, we often find only journalists making extravagant statements, which are instantly picked up and further dramatized by the media. Looming over their work is the slippery concept, to which they constantly allude, of “*fundamentalism*”, a word that has come to be associated almost automatically with Islam, although it has a flourishing, usually elided, relationship with Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism... And all this without any serious effort at defining the term “fundamentalism,” or giving precise meaning either to “radicalism” or “extremism,” or giving those phenomena some context (for example, saying that 5 percent, or 10 percent, or 50 percent of all Muslims are fundamentalists).’ (Said, 1997, pp. xvi-xvii, emphases original)

This ideological tension that is brought about by the events of 9/11 has to be contrasted with a more fundamental ideological question for Pakistan. Pakistan was created as a homeland for the Muslims of India after the English departure from the sub-continent. The pursuit of Islamic ideology through education was quite visible in the initial policy documents of the state of Pakistan and continued until the 1990s, though with different degrees of intensity and different motives. Pakistan, as a multi-ethnic country has relied on Islam to provide common base for national identity,

although with varying success. The secession of East Pakistan in 1971 following ethnic and linguistic conflicts challenges ability of Islam to play this role; however, we see a stronger emphasis on Islamic values in subsequent governments after the debacles of 1971.

The role of Islam in education policy is another site of tension between global and national pressures. Islam has traditionally been seen as providing a base for creating nationalistic sentiments in the population. Thus the official line has been of encouraging equivalence between a ‘good Pakistani’ and a ‘good Muslim’ (Durrani, 2008). Following the events of 9/11 and the involvement of Pakistan in the so called ‘war on terror’ another role has emerged for Islamic ideology in education policy in Pakistan. Now the requirement from education was to present a moderate view of Islam and purge the Pakistani curriculum of any extremist sentiments. Madrasa education came under particularly strict scrutiny. Indeed the ESR proposed reforms for madrasa education.

The White Paper reflects this tension. In its introductory pages it strongly emphasises that Islam should not be followed as a dogma but as an enlightened ideology characterised by a zeal for inquiry and pursuit of knowledge. It is critical of past policies for their mistakes in dealing with Islam, which need to be corrected in the new policy. In dealing with madrasa education the White Paper points out that Pakistan not only has religious schools for Islam but for Christianity too – the missionary schools. With that assertion, the White Paper promotes a positive role for education provided by religious bodies, whether madrasas or missionaries. So sensitive is the issue of Islamic ideology that the drafts of new policy that have emerged after the White Paper completely silenced any such discussion that was there in the White Paper’s initial pages.

Here we can see the triumph of neo-liberal globalisation policies and preferences that like countries to remain focused on concerns at a technical level rather than questioning the basis and aims of dominant educational agendas (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001). Such global trends are also being pushed through local (national)

policy actors because of their own capacity to engage with global discourses through international travel, training programmes, interactions with foreigners and through communication technology. So for example one interviewee who was in an influential position in previous government and now works in an NGO suggested that education policy should not engage in ideological battles; it should rather look at the market demands for education and respond to these (NGO17).

3 Management of tensions by national government – ‘soft’ governance

So how do governments like Pakistan (developing and post-colonial) try to manage these tensions and govern their education system within the conditions posed by global education policy field? In chapter three I have argued that the traditional authority of the state has been restructured due to the processes and conditions of globalisation. The heavy forms of government, whereby the state was involved in the provision of most services is being replaced gradually by more networked and joined-up forms of governing, which is often referred to as a movement from government to governance (Rosenau, 2000). This new form of governance is quite established in the advanced Western democracies and reliant upon various governing technologies to establish the power of the state and to govern at a distance (Rose, 1996, pp. 42-43). The reduction in the state’s absolute authority is often referred to as the decline or irrelevance of the state in present political structure; however, a correct conceptualisation would be to view state structure as being reshaped and readjusted in changing times, the state is still relevant (Pierre & Peters, 2000). Indeed Rizvi (2004) has argued that the events of September 11 have actually increased state’s authority to deal with the growing security threats around the world.

Globalisation processes have made scholars rethink about the structure of the nation state and indeed the whole globe. As the world goes through significant changes due to the processes of globalisation, an alternative way to think about it would be to focus on governance rather than state (Dale, 2005). In this research I have taken up the conceptualisation of Rosenau (1999) pertaining to the global governance.

According to Rosenau, globalisation processes have reshaped governing structures in both spatial and temporal terms; hence it is more appropriate to think of global governance as managing various Spheres of Authority (SoA). Also, instead of thinking about territorially bound state, one can better comprehend the modern state structure in terms of SoAs. The state governs along with other actors (both national and global) to establish a particular political structure. This particular governance structure in any country depends on unique context and history of that country and therefore despite apparently homogenising features of globalisation, there exist unique state governing structures across the globe (Pierre & Peters, 2000).

Given the changes in the state governance structure national policy making and particularly education policy making has also restructured. In chapter three I have highlighted the way national governments have to adjust to plethora of international commitments and standards and at the same time to growing local demands. Thus state authority appears distributed both at supra-state and local levels. Within this distributed context the state tries to manoeuvre and employ unique governance mechanisms to exert and expand its Sphere of Authority.

Earlier I have argued that the effects of globalisation on national education policy are discursive to a large extent. I have argued in relation to Dale's position (1999) that globalisation employs largely non-coercive and discursive mechanisms to achieve national compliance. Here I would like to extend this discussion further and argue that the state's response to the pressures of globalisation is also largely discursive, which can be seen in the case of Pakistan's education policy making processes. Silova (2004) shows that national governments are quite innovative in utilising the new rhetoric and language common for globalisation in their own national agendas. My research shows that the government is utilising a kind of 'soft' governance mechanism to counter the pressures of globalisation and the tensions that it generates. Due to the dependence on external aid for financing education in Pakistan, the government could not resist the demands posed by global pressures – adhering to EFA and MDG targets, introducing privatisation, decentralisation and so on. In this connection, the government is only left with discursive resources to counter global

pressures (Arnott & Ozga, forthcoming), which is referred to as ‘soft’ governance here. In ‘soft governance:

‘The legitimacy of governing authority cannot be demanded but has to be negotiated and its relation with its partners in civil society is one of steering, guiding and contracting, within recognition that supported networks are unstable and fluctuating’ (Lawn, 2006, p. 280).

The language resources and the process of extensive consultation as I will explain shortly are the major resources that government employs for policy, governance and thus expanding its SoA. A similar case is also presented by Lingard and Jn Pierre (2006), whereby the ministry of education in St Lucia, Caribbean, use extensive consultation with stakeholders as a mechanism to mediate the pressures of the global education policy field.

Given the receding power of the state due to globalisation pressures, Pierre and Peters (2000, p. 112) ask ‘can the state reassert control?’. The response in the light of this research is quite positive, with some cautionary notes. Yes, the state, even relatively weaker states like Pakistan, has the capacity to reassert itself. However, this reassertion is not a return to the traditional and absolute authority, rather this return is towards a restructured state authority, which relies more on ‘soft’ governance instruments and where the discursive resources are of crucial importance (Lawn, 2006). This however, does not mean that material resources are not important. They are, but even with material wealth, governments are more and more reliant on discursive instruments to expand their SoA in this global world (Fairclough, 2006). Gewirtz, Dickson and Power (2007) suggest that the New Labour education policy in the UK relies heavily on discursive resources to ‘spin’ the public response in favour of their policies. This suggests a new and ‘soft’ turn in the governance of education, which is also becoming common in developing countries and which I have tried to show with the example of the White Paper. This ‘soft governance’ relies on soft tools of networking, conferences, seminars, consultations, advisory groups, publications etc. (Lawn, 2006). In the European context Lawn and Lingard (2002, p. 292) have argued that there exists a ‘magistracy of influence’ – a

‘policy elite that acts across borders’ to create a European policy space. In the light of my research, this argument can be stretched further to suggest that such a magistracy of influence does not only operate in a European space but also in a global space, which we have observed in the case of Pakistan’s education policy and the involvement of various policy actors representing not only national but global policy actors.

Below I will try to show how the government of Pakistan (NEPR team to be specific)¹³ employs discursive resources to manage tensions and pursue ‘soft governance’ of education policy. This will have implications for my interpretation of the Sphere of Authority of the Pakistani state. The major discursive resources employed by the government / NEPR team are: language and the process of consultation. In explaining the use of these resources I will again draw upon the findings presented in chapters five and six.

3.1 Language of policy

In chapter 5 sections 2.1 and its sub-sections, I have noted that the language of the White Paper is sophisticated. It quite often uses difficult vocabulary and complex sentence structures. I noted that the use of sophisticated language also enables the author of the White Paper to achieve several objectives. In relation to the theme of discussion here, that is the management of tensions between the national and global interests, the language of the White Paper plays a significant role.

¹³ Here I encounter a challenge to determine the exact nature of NEPR team. Is it an independent body or does this represent government? The Ministry of Education selected the member of NEPR team through open competition, thus it ought to have an independent status. However, the NEPR team leader was a retired senior bureaucrat and though not representing government at the moment has been oriented through government services. The physical location of the NEPR team in the Ministry of Education and utilizing its material and human resources shows the official status of the government. The NEPR team also went to various provinces and districts representing federal education ministry. Above all the language of the White Paper assumes the official government role. Hence, we ought to consider NEPR team representing government in case of this policy review process.

I have already underlined the tensions in relation to language and ideology. The use of sophisticated language is one way the White Paper tries to manage these tensions. The section 2.1.3 in chapter 5 suggests that the use of sophisticated language is most marked in the sections of the White Paper which deals with the issues of language, religion and ideology. The use of sophisticated language allows the possibility of multiple interpretations, thus allowing both reader and author space for further interpretation. Different readerships of the White Paper can use the same assertions for various purposes and for various objectives, all claiming the truth. Thus we see in section 2.1.2 that the White Paper reinforces the ‘enlightened moderation’ discourse developed by the Musharraf government. However, the use of sophisticated language in doing so does not make it too explicit or apparent. In fact one of the interviewees belonging to an international organisation considered the ideological discussion in introductory pages of the White Paper unnecessary (Don14). Interestingly the enlightened moderation discourse earned useful respect and legitimacy for the Musharraf government from different countries particularly the USA and the UK. Nationally, the White Paper did not seem to have provoked much comment by criticising dogmatic views of Islam. The use of sophisticated language, which may obscure the meaning of the text and leave it open to different interpretations, serves this difficult purpose of managing tensions between various interest groups nationally and globally.

I discussed in section 2.2 of chapter 5 the fact that the White Paper uses declarative and imperative grammatical modes. I pointed out that the declarative grammatical mode is used for defining a problem, to which an apparently logical solution or policy recommendation is then often articulated in the imperative grammatical mood. This is another way that language is used to manage tension between global and national interests, whereby both problems and its solutions are carefully crafted in tandem.

Chapter 5, sections 2.2.1 – 2.2.6 suggest that through the use of the declarative grammatical mode the White Paper creates a ‘regime of truth’, which is explained by Foucault (1980) as follows:

‘Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.’ (Foucault, 1980, p. 131, emphasis original)

The regime of truth framed by the White Paper constructs the policy problem, explains the reasons for it and assesses the status of the issue. The problem constructed in this way then leads to an apparently logical policy solution. Indeed the White Paper deals with the issue of languages in education in this way (see section 2.2.2). Further support for a policy is also gained through selectively drawing upon past policies, for example in the case of the role of the private sector in education (see section 2.2.7).

Speaking to various audiences at the same time is another way the language is helpful in managing tensions between the global and the national interests. The chapter 5, section 3 and its sub sections show that the White Paper assumes several readerships including: government bodies, International Organisations (IOs), religious elements, civil society, industry and politicians. It is observed there that the White Paper addresses these various readerships mostly implicitly and sometimes confirms their views and sometimes rejects or corrects them. The White Paper is attentive to the pre-occupations of the IOs and NGOs for example global development targets and pertinent issues of gender, environment and poverty. The White Paper challenges dogmatic views of Islam and supports an enlightened view. As part of this attempt to project a moderate line, the White Paper puts forward a policy of equivalence in terms of various faiths so that the madrasas are to be seen on a par with missionary schools. Here the White Paper challenges the internationally negative view on madrasas, but in quite a subtle way, which positions them alongside other faith schools. The White Paper considers madrasas as largely civil society institutions, which need reform rather than abandonment. Here the language does

quite a lot of ‘tension management’ work between various interests and thus allows the government to exert authority in this sphere.

Another way the language is used in the White Paper in managing tensions is through drawing upon various sources of authority in proposing a particular policy recommendation. In section 4 of chapter 5, we notice that the White Paper draws to varying degrees on national and global sources of authority to support a particular policy outcome. The section also identifies the different references and suggests that global authority is usually invoked in relation to the economy, global competition, privatisation and standardisation in education. National sources of authority are invoked in dealing with the issues of language, Islamic education, political corruption, curriculum reform and secondary and higher education. This suggests not only a different purpose in drawing upon national or international authority but also indicates the targeting of a different readership as suggested earlier. Thus for example in promoting privatisation and ICT education the authority that is drawn on is the internationally prevalent logic of knowledge economy. Likewise the pursuit of global targets is justified by claiming authority from international agreements and agencies like the UN. In relation to national authority the quotes or couplets of national heroes are presented to show the importance of knowledge and highlight the deprivation of Muslims because of lack of education.

3.2 The Process of consultation

The process of consultation adopted by the policy review and the production of the White Paper is another mechanism used by the government / NEPR team to manage tensions arising out of the difference between national and global interests. Chapter six presents the findings related to the process of consultation followed for policy review and here I will draw from that analysis to show how the consultative process was used to manage global-national tensions in education policy in Pakistan.

The selection of an independent policy review team headed by an experienced former bureaucrat was a way for the government to signal its commitment that the

Ministry of Education was to seriously review and improve education policy (see chapter 6, section 1.1.2). The selection of an independent team and the appointment of a credible head enable government to have confidence that policy recommendations coming out of an independent and intelligent body carry authority and therefore can sustain any external pressure better than policy developed by government machinery. This apparent independence was not so clear in practice, as the NEPR team was physically located within the Ministry of Education's office and used government resources. However the key point to note here in relation to my argument is that the selection of an independent team provides a resource for the government in its claims for the authority and authenticity of the policy review and this helps to extend and protect its SoA, because it contributes to the management of tensions between global and national interest.

Apart from the selection of the team, the most important and convincing mechanism for managing this tension was the introduction of a systematic three-stage process of policy review. The stages and characteristics of the review process are detailed in chapter 6, section 1.2. The NEPR team in the diagnostic stage produced 23 Green Papers (see chapter 6, section 1.2.1), commissioned research studies and developed the roadmap of the review process. During the prescriptive stage, the NEPR team carried out issue based consultations, intensive consultations with key organisations, consultations with development partners (IOs) and produced the 'Thematic Papers' (see chapter 6, section 1.2.3). In the Policy development stage, the NEPR team produced the White Paper. The other two products during this last stage – formal policy documents and implementation plans – were not prepared due to the dissolution of the NEPR team (see chapter 6, section 1.2.3). Support for the consultation process was also noted in chapter 6. The consultative process helps in managing the tensions between the global and national interests in two ways. Firstly, the systematic and elaborate process supports claims of objectivity and authenticity. The rigorous and careful process of consultation, its reporting, the production of subsidiary reports and the commissioning of research reports creates an impression of objective, evidence-based enquiry. This being established, the government could select a preferred policy option apparently on the basis of evidence without being

labelled as biased. Marsh (2000) suggests that perhaps consultation is the latest version of new public management, where the concern for policy is not only to ensure efficiency but also to ensure continuous learning at a much wider scale to inform policy decisions. We see some of it happening in the case of Pakistan.

Secondly, the apparently objective design of the consultative process acts to steer the process itself. In chapter 6, section 1.4.2 I noted that the production of the Green Papers significantly shaped the policy review and subsequent production of the White Paper. The 23 Green Papers on various educational issues shaped the consultation process. They provided the parameters and became the basis of discussion in consultative meetings, conferences and general feedback. Based on such consultations the policy was conceptualised in terms of ‘themes’ rather than ‘sectors’ (primary, secondary, tertiary etc) which marked a departure from previous practice. The Green Papers also shaped the debate about educational issues, the formal responses of the stakeholders were often in response to the Green Papers (see chapter 6, section 2.2.1) and later in response to the White Paper (see chapter 6, section 2.3.2). Thus through the design of the consultative process and particularly through the production of Green Papers government managed the tensions between global and national policy priorities. Indeed the exhaustive process may have acted to ‘cool out’ opposition (Gale, 2007).

Furthermore because the consultation process was so extensive, as well as unprecedented (details about the mechanisms and objectives of these forums are presented in chapter 6, section 1.3.) most of the participants were drawn into the process and supportive of it, with the exception of the NGOs who were generally sceptical about participation and the intentions of the government (see chapter 6, section 2.2.2). The various forums generated enormous amount of policy related knowledge. This provided resources with which the government could steer the policy recommendations by selective referencing for various recommendations. The process of developing the Thematic Papers represent this process of managing policy most clearly (see chapter 6, section 1.4.3). Thus knowledge management was a

useful mechanism through which the government attempted to manage both internal and external tensions.

Finally the NEPR team used the revision of the White Paper as another mechanism to manage tensions between national and global interests. In chapter 6, section 3.1, I identified differences between the first and the revised versions of the White Paper. Key among these were religion, language and private sector provision, all issues where tension between the global and national interests in Pakistani education policy manifests itself. In section 2.3 I have shown the general feedback that the White Paper received from various policy actors, which shows that despite being taken positively in general there were certain areas that were identified for further improvement. As a result the NEPR team issued a revised White Paper in a very short time addressing many of those concerns. The revised version was considered better by many interviewees I talked to and they felt satisfied with it.

I did, I did have some concerns, but the second draft of the White Paper was better than the first draft. (NGO17)

It can be argued that the revision of the White Paper was also used by the NEPR team to create further sense of participation among policy actors, particularly those who commented on the first version of the White Paper. The feedback from the policy actors is one way of influencing the policy, while the revision is another mechanism of managing those influences by the NEPR team.

4 Global, national or vernacular – determining the national SoA of Pakistani government

I now turn to the main research question: *‘What does the recent review of education policy, contained in the WP, tell us about the SoA of Pakistan’*. A helpful way to think about the SoA of the Pakistani government in making its education policy is to utilise the concept of ‘hybrid state’ suggested by Robinson (2008), which he believes is particularly relevant for developing countries. According to this conceptualisation

it is likely that a state may exercise more control over some of its affairs and lesser over others at the same time showing its hybrid capacity. Thus a state cannot be considered completely subdued by globalisation forces, nor can it be absolutely sovereign in its 'internal' affairs. Because of this hybrid capacity of the state, it is useful now to focus on 'processes of governance rather than those of governments as the instruments through which authority is exercised' (Rosenau, 1999, p. 296). A focus on governance allows us to conceive state authority three-dimensionally what Dale (2005, p. 132) refers to as 'functional, scalar and sectoral division of the labour of educational governance'. He explains his *pluri-scalar* model as below:

'the activities, or functions, of educational governance can be divided into four categories ... funding, provision, ownership and regulation ... they may be carried out by any of the broad set of agents indicated – state, market, community and household, either separately or in combination ... these functions may also be carried out at a number of different scales; they are no more confined to the national than they are to the state.' (pp. 132-133)

Reflecting on the analysis of education policy of Pakistan, it can be argued that the government does not act independently in making education policy decisions in Pakistan. It has to listen to various policy actors. In the case of the present policy review the prominent policy actors are: IOs, NGOs and academics. This suggests that the state does not possess absolute policy authority in education policy. Thus the national SoA of the Pakistani government is influenced heavily by other policy actors, however, the government still orchestrates the policy process, which alludes to Robinson's (2008) assertion of 'hybrid state capacity'. The influence of these actors works at different scales. At the level of action the representatives of different IOs and NGOs are closely involved in policy consultations for education in Pakistan. At another level we can notice that IOs affect national policy through controlling funding educational development in Pakistan. At suprastate level we also noticed that the IOs create a discursive frame to push for certain educational policies at national levels, for example following the targets of EFA and MDGs and linking education to poverty alleviation agenda. Further, NGOs and academics also push for some educational reforms that are more aligned with suprastate policy than the official

national policy. As a result international education priorities are very visible in education policy in Pakistan.

These international priorities create tensions with internal policy priorities, which are themselves far from agreed, for example the issue of language in Pakistan. The clear visibility of global educational development priorities and the attention to their targets in the White Paper demonstrate a challenge to national SoA. The government attempts to manage this challenge by using discursive strategies (including consultation) which also assist it in the management of internal tensions (Marsh, 2000). The assessment of the SoA has drawn attention to the governments' use of discourse as a resource for the management of external and internal pressures and tensions. However that strategy is limited by the absence of human and material resources. Discursive strategies are relied upon when other resources are absent or weak (Arnott & Ozga, forthcoming).

It is crucially important to emphasise that global or 'travelling policy' does not simply land into the national landscape without encountering 'embedded policy' (Jones & Alexiadou, 2001; Ozga & Jones, 2006). There are national and local specificities, histories and political priorities that shape the final outcome of global policy within national boundaries. The officials at the Ministry of Education were apparently very assertive to declare that government does not take dictates from any IOs. A high level official said:

'Donors have to align with us. I'm very clear about that. We don't align with donors, donors have to align with us. So that's not an issue. The way things happen or should happen, and we try to make sure that it happens, is that we as a government decide. We may consult the donors, but we as government decide what we want.' (F-MoE18).

Lingard (2000, p. 102) reminds us:

'The effects of globalization on the state, educational policy, and schools are mediated yet again by local cultures, histories, and politics.'

Globalization maps onto local practice in contingent, contested, inflected, and thus unpredictable ways.

It can be concluded that the SoA of the Pakistani government in making its education policy faces global pressures, yet it negotiates with such forces to lead to negotiated policy outcome, which can be considered as ‘vernacular’ (Lingard, 2000). However, because of the weak national capital (Bourdieu, 2003) due to financial dependence government options are mainly limited to the use of discursive practices such as language and consultation process to exert and extend its SoA. The vernacular nature of the Pakistani policy also demonstrates that the SoA of the Pakistani government is capable enough to negotiate with global pressures, albeit under strict limitations and without much certainty about its growth or shrinking in the future.

5 SoA, CDA and Policy Sociology

I would now like to turn to explore the utility of the conception of Sphere of Authority (SoA) and the methodological resources of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the work of policy sociology.

The policy sociology tradition has previously relied on the conception of the nation state as the basic unit within which the policy work takes place (Dale, 2005). The earlier work of Stephen Ball (1990, 1994a) and Dale (1989) works within the parameters of a state-centric view of policy making and education reform. The growing importance of global networks and organisations in the field of education, for example the work of OECD and UN agencies made scholars expand the state-centric parameters and heed the call to globalising policy sociology (Lingard et al., 2005). The later work of both Ball and Dale has clearly moved from a state-centric to a global view of policy and recognising the importance of processes and actors beyond the nation state (see Ball, 1998; Dale, 1999). In this research I have borrowed the idea of Sphere of Authority from Rosenau (1999) to theorise national policy making in a global context. The concept of the SoA allows one to think in a ‘de-territorial’ way by de-coupling state authority from geographical territory. In doing so, the SoA allows for recognising that policy-making is a joined up exercise where

state actors work with other national and international actors to achieve policy outcomes. The concept of SoA also allows the possibility of thinking of various influences that shape national policies; these may be both national and international, both material and discursive and both direct and indirect. Thus it not only suggests the need to look at the activity of the participants in the policy making process but also encourages us to think of broader structural and discursive features that shape the actions of policy actors and policy outcomes discursively as well as materially. In this way the concept of SoA addresses the critique of Dale (2005, pp. 124-129), who pointed out to the ‘methodological nationalism’ and ‘embedded statism’ in the work of education policy researchers. The context of education policy is now changed and any research on education policy has to keep in mind various layers (functional, scalar and sectoral) within which education operates. The SoA conception adopted in this research views education policy operating at a global scale and within complex layering pointed out by (Dale, 2005). It is therefore a valuable conceptual resource for researchers working in the field of education policy sociology.

Let us now turn to the contribution of the methodological resources of CDA for the field of policy sociology. It is already noted that language is increasingly playing a significant role in education policy; as a result extra attention is given to the language of policy. In addition the analysis of policy is also increasingly focusing on the language of policy and the discursive work that it performs – policy as text and discourse (Ball, 1993). The focus on discourse analysis is visible and some of the more recent examples which uses discourse analysis for education policy include: Fimyar (2008), Saarinen (2005) and Shehu (2007). Although these analyses are quite valuable as they engage in unmasking power structures shaping policy outcomes, they lack ‘fine grained linguistic analysis’ engaging with the text (Taylor, 2004). The work of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 2003) as detailed in chapter four combines the socially based language analysis (mainly under the influence of Foucault) with textual analysis.

Taylor (2004) feels that the methodological resources offered by CDA are particularly useful to policy sociology. CDA allows for investigating the role of

language – both textual and social representation – in maintaining and/or challenging power relations. In this way CDA offers critical methodological resources to pursue the agenda of policy sociology, which seeks for social justice and a more sociologically oriented policy research (Ball, 1997; Shain & Ozga, 2001). Another usefulness of CDA is its systematic analytical framework (see chapter four for detail), which allows policy researchers to ‘go beyond speculation and demonstrate how policy texts work’ (Taylor, 2004). Hopefully the analysis presented in this thesis attests to this observation. The combination of social analysis with textual analysis is a powerful tool for researchers to engage with policy research. Despite these advantages, it is also important not to brush aside the criticism on CDA methodology for its extra focus on linguistic resources and thus prone to being labelled as biased, unproductive and non-pragmatic (Barkho, 2008). In order to address these challenges Barkho (2008) combined CDA with interviews and found that to be more useful. Taylor (2004) also sees value in combining the resources of CDA with other tools to meet the requirements of complex policy research context. In fact, Fairclough (2001) allows for the possibilities of using CDA with other resources to understand the complex social reality that we face. In this research I have also used textual resources along with interviews, particularly to understand the experiences of actors and to know more about the process of policy making. Thus CDA offers quite useful resource for the work of policy analysis. There is a language turn in policy and great attention is being paid on getting the language right particularly because policy has to endure media trial (Lingard & Rawolle, 2004). It is ideal that researchers in the field of policy studies utilise the resources of CDA to be able to understand education policy in this complex and global environment. The resources of CDA will hopefully strengthen the methodological repertoire of policy sociology.

Last but not the least the three dimensional model of CDA by Fairclough (1989, 1992) also allows for an analysis of effects of globalisation in a differentiated way. In chapter three I considered political, economic, cultural and strategic dimensions of globalisation with the caveat that these are not so distinctive in real practice. The three dimension of CDA as used in this research are: linguistic, discursive and structural. The third dimension – structural – allows for a discourse analysis

concerning globalisation in differentiated way and revealing more fine grained analysis. The analysis carried out for this research has benefitted from this differentiated analysis of globalisation, which although not too visible has informed the overall analytical work.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to address the research questions that were set at the outset of the research, which is also considered as the third level of analysis as set out in the framework of CDA developed in chapter 4. I first pondered the effects and mechanisms of globalisation and the kinds of tensions they create in the education policy arena of Pakistan. Several tensions are identified which include the change in the style of policy, the priorities given to international targets, promotion of privatisation of education, the importance given to English language, and the challenges to Islamic ideology. This is then followed by a discussion on management of these tensions by the Pakistan government. It is argued that the government of Pakistan is utilising ‘soft’ governance through discursive resources of language and consultation to mitigate the pressures of globalisation. In the end I have deliberated on the major question of this research to determine the SoA of the Pakistan government in education policy making. I have argued that global or ‘travelling’ policies are not simply adopted in the national space; they are mediated through contextual specificities and politics embedded in national culture and thus result in ‘vernacular’ policies. The Pakistani policy also represents a more vernacular policy rather than a straight forward global policy; thus the SoA of Pakistani government is still strong enough to mediate global pressures. Although in the wake of material limitations the government has to utilise more discursive resources in this negotiation process. Towards the end of the thesis I have also briefly touched upon the utility of the concepts of SoA and methodological resources of CDA for the field of policy sociology as demonstrated through this research.

It now remains for me to briefly review policy making in a globalised context. In this thesis I have argued that globalisation has reshaped several spheres of the education

system; hence education policy making is also reconfigured. It is better now to think of ‘governing education policy’ rather than ‘making education policy’ – hence the title of the thesis. Governing policy as opposed to making policy indicates that there are multiple actors and forces that shape the policy and that the role of the state is now to manage those actors, forces and the tensions that it creates. In another sense, governing policy is about managing several spheres of authority, whereby the state possesses one such sphere of authority and so far the most significant one. Managing these various spheres while taking care of its own sphere of authority for the positive education policy outcome for its citizens will remain the major task of the state.

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Appendix A: Information Sheet

Globalisation and education policy making in Pakistan

Information Sheet

This research is concerned with the policy making process in contemporary Pakistan. The research is trying to explore the nature and processes of policy production within the context of globalisation. The focus of the research will be Education in Pakistan – A White Paper, which was produced in 2007 after a long consultative process. Through the analysis of the policy text and interviews of relevant people involved in the process, I am trying to understand the policy process in education in Pakistan. I am also looking at the policy text to understand the discourses that it is embedded in and/or reinforces. This research will benefit the policy makers, academics, national and international organisations working for education in Pakistan.

The information provided will be kept confidential and used for the PhD research and relevant academic publications. Pseudonyms and generic labels for positions will be used to protect respondents' identity, unless they wish otherwise. Written consent will be ascertained from the interviewees. The participants will have the freedom to withdraw from the research at any stage.

There is a need for understanding the policy making process in Pakistan, which has been raised by many from time to time and hopefully this research will contribute towards that.

I hope that you will cooperate in this valuable research process. In case any further information is needed I can be contacted at the following address.

Sajid Ali
PhD candidate
Moray House School of Education, University of Edinburgh
Holyrood Road EH8 8AQ United Kingdom
+ 44 (0) 131 6516539
sajjidali@gmail.com

Appendix B: Consent Form

Globalisation and education policy making in Pakistan

Consent Form

	Yes	No
1. I have been given an information sheet about this research project		
2. I agree to participate in a research interview		
3. I agree to my interview being recorded		
4. I want to see a transcript of the interview		
5. I understand that all data collected will be treated confidentially		
6. I wish that my name and position will be kept anonymous in the research report and subsequent publications		
7. I am interested in seeing any publications which develop from this research		
8. I will be happy to respond to any subsequent query arising out of the interviews at a later stage.		

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

Appendix C: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for Review Team and Government Officials

1. Starter

1.1. Name, background, position in organisation and experience in education and on this position etc.

2. About Review team

2.1 Why was policy review felt necessary and why now?

2.2 Who were the members of policy review team and how were they selected and by whom?

2.3 Who financed the policy review process?

2.4 What was the relationship of policy review team with other departments of education and relevant ministries and with Provincial and District governments?

2b. Knowledge Generation and Consultation

2.5 What background research were conducted – green papers and other research?

2.6 Which people and organisations consulted for WP and why?

2.7 Which people and organisations ignored in WP consultation?

2.8 What were the forums/ mechanisms used for consultation?

2.9 How were the forums organised – places, preparations, deliberations, group participation?

2.10 In what ways the consultation for WP was similar/ different from previous policies and other contemporary policies?

2.11 In what ways the inclusion/exclusion of particular sectors affect the policy?

3. Settlements

3.1 Which people and organisations contributed the most and least in WP and why?

3.2 What value stances taken up by different people and organisations during consultations?

3.3 Whose values does the WP represent?

3.4 How were various recommendations, research and consultations synthesised?

3.5 Who did the actual writing of the WP and how was it shaped?

5. Implementation/ Practice related

5.1 Will the strategy put in place ensure a proper implementation?

5.2 Will there be sufficient finances available to implement the plan?

5.3 Is the policy owned by the implanting agencies (provinces, districts)?

5.4 Is the policy disseminated properly

Interview guide for Donors/ INGOs

Starter

What is your general involvement in the education sector – Sectors, geographies, areas of involvement?

Process of consultation and settlement

What is your view about the process of policy development that culminated into the White Paper? – team, consultations, settlements

In what ways did you participate or consulted by for current policy review?

Can you describe the proceedings of national consultations, the role of participants, team and the moderators? Do you have any qualms about anything?

What were your major recommendations for the upcoming policy during consultations? Were they considered?

What were your expectations from the review? Were they met?

How do you view the policy direction of the White Paper?

the extent to which it addresses the national and international challenges and commitments

Implementation

How willing are you in supporting the proper implementation of the new policy when it is implemented?

Will you alter your programmes and support in line with the policy and plans and overall direction of the education development of the government? What challenges do you foresee?

Do you have any concerns about the upcoming policy and its implementation?

Interview guide for NGOs/ Academics

Starter

What is your general involvement in the education sector – Sectors, geographies, areas of involvement?

Process of consultation and settlement

What is your view about the process of policy development that culminated into the White Paper?

team, consultations, settlements

Compare the current review process with earlier policies

In what ways did you participate or consulted for current policy review?

Can you describe the proceedings of national consultations, the role of participants, team and the moderators?

What were your major recommendations for the upcoming policy during consultations? Were they considered?

What were your expectations from the review? Were they met?

How do you view the policy direction of the White Paper?

the extent to which it addresses the national and international challenges and commitments

Implementation

How willing are you in supporting the proper implementation of the new policy when it is implemented?

Will you alter your programmes and support in line with the policy and plans and overall direction of the education development of the government? What challenges do you foresee?

Do you have any concerns about the upcoming policy and its implementation?

**Interview Guide for
Secretary and Minister of Education**

What is the overall vision of this policy?

Its prominent features

How does the policy aim to address the broader social, political and economic challenges both national and international?

The White Papers were issued in February 2006 and it's been around a year. What do you think causes this delay of policy announcement?

What is your opinion of having policy passed through the interim cabinet or through legislation by the elected government?

How could this policy's implementation be ensured?

How inter-ministerial and inter-provincial ownership will be ascertained.

How can alignments of several educational initiatives from district to provincial levels be created?

Also how can donors' programmes be made in line with the policy?

How do you see the fate of this policy in light of our previous experiences?